

**AN ASSESSMENT OF CUBA BROADCASTING—
THE VOICE OF FREEDOM**

HEARING
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ONE HUNDRED SEVENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

—————
JUNE 6, 2002
—————

Serial No. 107-94

—————

Printed for the use of the Committee on International Relations



Available via the World Wide Web: http://www.house.gov/international_relations

—————
U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

80-062PDF

WASHINGTON : 2002

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
Internet: bookstore.gpo.gov Phone: toll free (866) 512-1800; DC area (202) 512-1800
Fax: (202) 512-2250 Mail: Stop SSOP, Washington, DC 20402-0001

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

HENRY J. HYDE, Illinois, *Chairman*

BENJAMIN A. GILMAN, New York	TOM LANTOS, California
JAMES A. LEACH, Iowa	HOWARD L. BERMAN, California
DOUG BEREUTER, Nebraska	GARY L. ACKERMAN, New York
CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, New Jersey	ENI F.H. FALEOMAVAEGA, American Samoa
DAN BURTON, Indiana	DONALD M. PAYNE, New Jersey
ELTON GALLEGLY, California	ROBERT MENENDEZ, New Jersey
ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN, Florida	SHERROD BROWN, Ohio
CASS BALLENGER, North Carolina	CYNTHIA A. MCKINNEY, Georgia
DANA ROHRABACHER, California	EARL F. HILLIARD, Alabama
EDWARD R. ROYCE, California	BRAD SHERMAN, California
PETER T. KING, New York	ROBERT WEXLER, Florida
STEVE CHABOT, Ohio	JIM DAVIS, Florida
AMO HOUGHTON, New York	ELIOT L. ENGEL, New York
JOHN M. McHUGH, New York	WILLIAM D. DELAHUNT, Massachusetts
RICHARD BURR, North Carolina	GREGORY W. MEEKS, New York
JOHN COOKSEY, Louisiana	BARBARA LEE, California
THOMAS G. TANCREDO, Colorado	JOSEPH CROWLEY, New York
RON PAUL, Texas	JOSEPH M. HOEFFEL, Pennsylvania
NICK SMITH, Michigan	EARL BLUMENAUER, Oregon
JOSEPH R. PITTS, Pennsylvania	SHELLEY BERKLEY, Nevada
DARRELL E. ISSA, California	GRACE NAPOLITANO, California
ERIC CANTOR, Virginia	ADAM B. SCHIFF, California
JEFF FLAKE, Arizona	DIANE E. WATSON, California
BRIAN D. KERNS, Indiana	
JO ANN DAVIS, Virginia	
MARK GREEN, Wisconsin	

THOMAS E. MOONEY, SR., *Staff Director/General Counsel*
ROBERT R. KING, *Democratic Staff Director*

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN, Florida, *Chairwoman*

CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, New Jersey	CYNTHIA A. MCKINNEY, Georgia
RON PAUL, Texas	ROBERT MENENDEZ, New Jersey
CASS BALLENGER, North Carolina	GRACE NAPOLITANO, California
THOMAS G. TANCREDO, Colorado	ADAM B. SCHIFF, California
JOSEPH R. PITTS, Pennsylvania	

YLEEM POBLETE, *Subcommittee Staff Director*
KHALED ELGINDY, *Democratic Professional Staff Member*
SANDY ACOSTA, *Staff Associate*

CONTENTS

	Page
WITNESSES	
Daniel W. Fisk, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, U.S. Department of State	19
Adolfo Franco, Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean, U.S. Agency for International Development	23
Brian Conniff, Director, Office of the International Broadcasting Bureau, Broadcasting Board of Governors	26
Salvador Lew, Director, Office of Cuba Broadcasting, Broadcasting Board of Governors	32
Alfred Duran, Cuban Committee for Democracy	56
Phil Peters, Lexington Institute	58
Ernesto Diaz Rodriguez, former Cuban Political Prisoner	64
Berta Mexidor, founder of Cuban Independent Libraries	66
LETTERS, STATEMENTS, ETC., SUBMITTED FOR THE HEARING	
The Honorable Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, a Representative in Congress from the State of Florida, and Chairwoman, Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights: Prepared statement	5
Daniel W. Fisk: Prepared statement	21
Adolfo Franco: Prepared statement	25
Brian Conniff: Prepared statement	29
Salvador Lew: Prepared statement	33
Alfred Duran: Prepared statement	57
Phil Peters: Prepared statement	60
Ernesto Diaz Rodriguez: Prepared statement	65
Berta Mexidor: Prepared statement	68
APPENDIX	
Material Submitted for the Hearing Record	79

AN ASSESSMENT OF CUBA BROADCASTING— THE VOICE OF FREEDOM

THURSDAY, JUNE 6, 2002

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL
OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The Committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:30 a.m. in Room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen presiding.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. The hearing will come to order. Thank you so much, the panelists, the audience and the Members for being here today.

When President Ronald Reagan said in October 1983, upon signing the Radio Broadcasting to Cuba Act, that “There is a need for broadcast to Cuba to promote the cause of freedom,” he perhaps did not fully comprehend the impact that these broadcasts would have in removing the veil of silence that engulf the Cuban nation.

Little did he know that, in a squalid jail cell in Boniato prison, one of our witnesses today, Ernesto Diaz Rodriguez—Ernesto if you could please stand—along with other Cuban prisoners of conscience, would soon huddle around a small radio smuggled into his jail, to listen to The Voice of Freedom—the voice of hope, which reached them through Radio Marti.

Little did he know that Radio Marti would become the most popular radio station in Cuba’s history with human rights activists, independent journalists, and independent librarians, such as another one of our witnesses today, Berta Mexidor speaking and directly participating in the programs.

Little did any of us know that, in the Fall of 1998, dissidents inside the island such as Dr. Oscar Elias Biscet and independent journalists such as Angel Pablo Polanco, would be able to experience the debate on funding for Cuba Broadcasts, through Radio and TV Marti.

Nor did any of us anticipate that the Cuban people and the international community would be able to, through Cuba Broadcasting, receive detailed information directly from dissidents on a 40-day hunger strike at Tamarindo 34 in Havana in June and July 1999.

From the onset, Cuba’s totalitarian regime and the Cuban Communist Party leadership, understood the threat that these broadcasts would pose to their ability to exert absolute control over the Cuban people.

They knew that they would shed light where darkness had reigned before, and, thus, the cries for freedom and democracy could never again be muzzled. The regime knew that there would be detailed analysis of Fidel Castro's speeches, and we have the cassettes here to show us this.

In a 1984 document entitled *Politburo Orientations to Raise the Information Efficiency of the Country's Mass Organs of Diffusion*, the regime and party's upper cadre explained in detail that:

“If care is not taken, the Americans, above all thanks to their anti-Castro radio programs, could easily fill, in the view of the public, the vacuum of the Cuban press.”

The Castro regime knew that programs such as “El Presidio Político en Cuba,” Cuban's political prisons would be developed to inform the Cuban people about the torture, the oppression, the harassment, and the intimidation to which people who disagree with the regime are subjected to.

Then, in 1990 Cuba's brutal dictatorship had to face yet another challenge to its repressive apparatus—TV Marti. Once again, the regime feared the awakenings which would take place in the hearts and minds of the Cuban people. The transmissions had to be prevented at any and all costs—by whatever means necessary.

The regime knew that there would be special reporting on such heinous jails such as Combinado del Este and Manto Negro—and we will see that in Video No. 2—or footage on attacks by the dictatorship's Rapid Response Brigades on human rights dissidents and pro-democracy activists, as we will see in Video No. 3. This is why the tyrant had to block these broadcasts.

One tactic was legal and political maneuvers at the international level, as reflected in the complaints by the Castro regime to the International Telecommunication Union on April 30, 1998 and on March 8, 1999 and June 7, 1999.

In these, Cuban officials referred to “continuing interference caused to its television stations by television transmissions identified as TV Marti.” The regime asked for assistance from the International Telecommunication's Union in the “elimination of TV Marti.”

Unsuccessful in these efforts, Castro officials turned to the jamming experts—the Chinese regime—for assistance. Chinese military specialists were deployed to Cuba and have spent the last few years modernizing, upgrading, and expanding Cuba's antenna fields in order to jam TV Marti—all the while China's PLA builds U.S.-focused espionage facilities in Bejucal and in the interior of the island.

Opponents of Cuba Broadcasting focuses on the jamming by the regime to refer to TV Marti as pointless and wasteful and should be terminated. The critics, however, fail to look at TV Marti within the historical context or the political realities.

The United States has always understood that totalitarian regimes will attempt to interfere in some fashion with U.S. broadcasts because they are afraid—afraid of the information that will reach its people. However, we have never, ever, because of such interference or jamming, ceased our surrogate broadcasting.

If that were the case, we would be forced to cease the operation of America broadcast in Mandarin to China. We would be forced to cease Radio Free Asia broadcasts in Mandarin, in Tibet, in Uyghur to China and we would be forced to cease the operation of Radio Free Asia broadcasts to Vietnam.

So let's be consistent. Let's just stop all of the broadcasts to totalitarian regimes because the totalitarian regimes hates the Voice of Freedom so much that they jam it. So let's eliminate them all. Let's only broadcast The Voice of Freedom to free countries. That would make sense.

All of these are subject to intense jamming by Chinese and Vietnamese officials. The effectiveness of the jamming is as strong, and sometimes stronger, than the jamming of Radio and TV Marti. So let's eliminate it all. Let's only broadcast it to free countries. That makes sense.

But we would never propose eliminating those. Oh, no, why would we seek to do that? Let's only seek to eliminate Cuba broadcasting because Fidel Castro jams it. Why is he jamming it? Doesn't that mean that he hates the Voice of Freedom so much that he cannot stand to let it get to the Cuban people? Doesn't that tell us that, that's why it's important to improve our broadcasting capabilities and let the Voice of Freedom reach the Cuban people?

Why VOA and RFA, with these programs—we look for ways to address the problem, as we should. In fact, in a letter dated February 12th of this year, the Chairman of the Broadcasting Board of Governors wrote to Chairman Hyde and CJS Appropriations Chairman, Frank Wolf, saying that the BBG proposed to transfer \$1.2 million “to defeat jamming and reach a wider audience for Radio Free Asia and Voice of America broadcasts to China, to Tibet, to Vietnam, and to North Korea—wonderful things. Which begs the question—Why not Cuba?

Are the Cuban people any less deserving of hearing the Voice of Freedom and democracy and respect for human rights? Is their suffering any less important than the suffering of the people in China, in Tibet, in Vietnam and North Korea? Is the elimination of TV Marti just one phase of the policy of appeasing the Cuban dictator at the expense of the Cuban people? I certainly hope not.

TV Marti, however, is not the only target of opponents of Cuba Broadcasting. Efforts are also underway to minimize the impact that Radio Marti has in promoting the cause of freedom in Cuba, and the pivotal role it plays in promoting the second-prong of U.S. policy—support for the Cuban people.

Critics refer to surveys showing that listenership of Radio Marti is down. The same surveys that showed that Daniel Ortego would win in Nicaragua, no doubt.

Of course, they fail to mention that people go to prison in Cuba for speaking the truth. You really think you can do a survey in Cuba? I guess you believe in Santa Claus and the Easter Bunny, too.

They fail to acknowledge that these man-in-the-street type surveys will never yield reliable results because of fear, and because many of those average Cubans are in the service of the regime and the party apparatus. You've seen those great rallies in Cuba.

Let me tell you what would happen in those wonderful rallies that are pro-Castro in Cuba. You give them that conference table and you will have 20 rafters on that conference table trying to come to the United States. As they're chanting "Go Fidel," they will get on that conference table and row to the United States.

But they will be at that rally and they will say "Go Fidel" and they will take your survey and they will say Radio Marti—never heard of it. Don't listen to it. Don't know anything about it.

They also fail to mention reports that recent surveys conducted by the U.S. Interests Section of Havana of human rights dissidents, independent journalists, and independent librarians which revealed that 93.1 percent of those pro-democracy activists did listen to Radio Marti. So take your choice—believe one survey, believe the other survey, or don't believe either.

We will hear from some people who were in jail, and let them tell you whether they heard it or not.

They failed to mention another recent survey by the Fundacion de Periodistas Independientes Asociados, the Foundation for Associated Independent Journalists, and they polled 1000 Cubans in Havana Province. This survey shows that 92.5 percent of those surveyed listened to Radio Marti at some point during the day. Which ones to believe?

Nevertheless, I would like to reiterate that exact numbers, figures, and percentages can never be achieved in Cuba or in any country ruled by a totalitarian regime. How naive do you have to be to understand that. Do you not believe that Cuba is a totalitarian state? Do you not believe that people go to jail for saying the truth?

My uncle went to jail for telling a joke about Fidel Castro. Do you not think that this happens in the world? Are we that innocent that we can believe that everyone can be "love bombed" from being a dictator to a democratic Thomas Jefferson? And is this survey necessarily the best measure of Marti's effectiveness?

After all, in North Korea, where there is an extremely small audience listening, what has been the result of U.S. broadcasts? Defections of senior military officers and regime officials. And what do they say when they reach freedom? They say keep the broadcasts going.

But if you were to take the survey there, what do you think those military officials would be saying? They would say "never heard of them. Don't listen to them. Don't care about them." But give them an opportunity to escape and let them tell the truth here and they would say keep the broadcasts going.

Critics further argue that the reason why Radio Marti listenership is down is because of program content. Recently, at a mark-up of the International Relations Committee, the following statements were made—"I have asked many Cubans if they listened to Radio Marti. They said, we used to, but we don't anymore. It is just anti-Castro drivel that we have heard before and there is no reason to listen to it.

Well, I would like Berta Mexidor and Ernesto Diaz Rodriguez, who represent a cross-section of Cuba's pro-democracy opposition—I'm sorry they're not the pool boys that you guys hear from when you stay at the nice hotels in Cuba.

I'm sorry that they're former political prisoners. I'm sorry that they're not the taxi drivers that you guys communicate with—the common Cuban people when you go to visit Cuba. I'm sorry, they're too busy being in jail for their beliefs, but listen to them. They were directly involved in the struggle to bring freedom to Cuba. I'm sorry that they're not the average Cuban because they're too busy sweating out their prison term.

Let them respond directly to the claims during their testimony, and ask them about the effectiveness of Radio and TV Marti, or maybe if you're a political prisoner or dissident, maybe that doesn't qualify you because you know Castro has the 12 groups of government-sanctioned dissidents.

And if you go to Cuba, you meet with those 12. And hats off to them. I do not criticize them, but people these are the government's good housekeeping, seal of approval dissidents. So understand that. Do you really think that you have access to a Cuban jail?

Ask my colleagues. In their wonderful junkets to Cuba how many Cuban prisons did they visit? Did they demand to go see a Cuban jail. Did they see one Cuban prisoner in jail? But they will tell you I had free access. Do you not want to see a Cuban prisoner in jail? If you had free access, then tell them that you want to go to a Cuban prison and you want to meet with a Cuban prisoner, and let me see how far your free access gets you.

But you talk to a pool boy and a cabana boy in your luxury hotels and you talk to a luxury driver in your taxicabs and you've talked to the Cuban people. Okay. All right.

Ultimately, any discussion of Cuba Broadcasting requires context and a comprehensive examination. I am confident that the panel of witnesses we have today will help us to fulfill this goal. I thank everyone of them as my friend from Alfredo Duran to Ernesto Diaz Rodriguez. We have no beef with anyone in our community who has divergent points of view.

We have no beef with the Cuban people. We have one enemy and it's the common enemy we both have—and that's Fidel Castro and his apparatus. We disagree in the tools of how to get there, but let's have that as the common denominator. At least, I pray that we do.

I'm very pleased to yield to my Ranking Member, my good friend, Cynthia McKinney.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Ros-Lehtinen follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA, AND CHAIRWOMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

When President Ronald Reagan said in October 1983, upon signing the Radio Broadcasting to Cuba Act that: "there is a need for broadcasts to Cuba . . . to promote the cause of freedom," he, perhaps, did not fully comprehend the impact that these broadcasts would have in *removing the veil of silence* that *engulfed* the Cuban nation.

Little did he know, that in a *squalid jail cell in Boniato prison*, one of our witnesses today, Ernesto Diaz Rodriguez, along with other Cuban prisoners of conscience, would soon huddle around a small radio smuggled into the jail, to listen to the *voice of freedom—the voice of hope*—which reached them through Radio Marti.

Little did he know that Radio Marti would become the most popular radio station in Cuba's history with human rights activists, independent journalists, and inde-

pendent librarians, such as another of our witnesses today, Berta Mexidor, speaking and directly participating in the programs.

Little did any of us know that, in the Fall of 1998, dissidents inside the island such as Dr. Oscar Elias Biscet and independent journalists such as Angel Pablo Polanco, would be able to experience the debate on funding for Cuba Broadcasts, through Radio and TV Marti.

Nor did any of us anticipate that the Cuban people and the international community would be able to, through Cuba Broadcasting, receive detailed information directly from dissidents on a 40-day hunger strike at Tamarindo 34 in Havana in June and July of 1999.

However, from the onset, Cuba's totalitarian regime and the Cuban Communist Party leadership, understood the threat that these broadcasts would pose to their ability to exert *absolute control* over the Cuban people.

They knew that this would shed light where darkness had reigned before and, thus, the cries for freedom and democracy could never again be muzzled.

The regime knew that there would be detailed analysis of Fidel Castro speeches. In a 1984 document entitled "Politburo Orientations to Raise the Informational Efficiency of the Country's Mass organs of Diffusion", the regime and party's upper cadre explained in detail that: "If care is not taken . . . the Americans, above all thanks to their anti-Castro radio programs, could easily fill, in the view of the public, the 'vacuum' in the Cuban press."

The Castro regime knew that, programs such as "El Presidio Politico en Cuba" (Cuba's Political Prisoners), would be developed to inform the Cuban people about the torture, oppression, harassment, and intimidation to which people who disagree with the regime are subjected to.

Then, in 1990, Cuba's brutal dictatorship, had to face yet another challenge to its repressive apparatus—TV Marti. Once again, the regime feared the awakening which would take place in the hearts and minds of the Cuban people.

These transmissions had to be prevented at *any and all cost*—by *whatever means necessary*.

The regime knew that there would be special reporting on such heinous jails as Combinado del Este and Manto Negro.

Or footage on attacks by the dictatorship's Rapid Response Brigades against human rights dissidents and pro-democracy activists.

This is why the tyrant had to block these broadcasts.

One tactic was legal and political maneuvers at the international level, as reflected in complaints by the Castro regime to the International Telecommunication Union on April 30, 1998; March 8, 1999; and June 7, 1999.

In these, Cuban officials referred to the "continuing interference caused to *its* television stations . . . by television transmissions identified as TV Marti." The regime asked for assistance from the International Telecommunication Union in the "elimination of TV Marti."

Unsuccessful in these efforts, Castro officials turned to the jamming experts—the Chinese regime—for assistance.

Chinese military specialists were deployed to Cuba and have spent the last few years modernizing, upgrading, and expanding Cuba's antenna fields in order to jam TV Marti—all while China's PLA builds U.S.-focused espionage facilities at Bejucal and in the interior of the island.

Opponents of Cuba Broadcasting, focus on the jamming by the regime, to refer to TV Marti as: "pointless" and "wasteful" and should thus be "terminated."

The critics, however, fail to look at TV Marti within the historical context or political realities.

The United States has always understood that totalitarian regimes will attempt to interfere in some fashion with U.S. broadcasts because they are *afraid*—afraid of the information that will reach its people.

However, we have never, ever, because of such interference or jamming, ceased our surrogate broadcasting.

If that were the case, we would be forced to cease Voice of America broadcasts in Mandarin to China; or Radio Free Asia broadcasts in Mandarin, Tibetan, and Uyghur (wee-gher) to China; or Radio Free Asia broadcasts to Vietnam.

All of these are subject to intense jamming by Chinese and Vietnamese authorities and the effectiveness of the jamming is *as strong*, and sometimes *stronger*, than the jamming of Radio or TV Marti.

We would *never* propose ending *these*. Why would we seek to eliminate Cuba broadcasts?

With VOA and RFA, we look for ways to address the problem—as we should.

In fact, in a letter dated February 12th of this year, the Chairman of the Broadcasting Board of Governors wrote to Chairman Hyde and CJS Appropriations Chair-

man, Frank Wolf, that the BBG proposed to transfer \$1.2 million “to defeat jamming and reach a wider audience for Radio Free Asia and Voice of America broadcasts to China, Tibet, Vietnam, and North Korea.”

This bears the question: Why not Cuba? Are the Cuban people any *less* deserving? Is their *suffering* any *less* important?

Is the elimination of TV Marti just one phase of the policy of appeasing the Cuban dictator at the expense of the Cuban people?

I certainly hope not.

TV Marti, however, is not the only target of opponents of Cuba Broadcasting.

Efforts are also underway to minimize the impact that *Radio* Marti has in promoting the cause of freedom in Cuba, and the pivotal role it plays in promoting the second-prong of U.S. policy—support for the Cuban people.

Critics refer to surveys showing that listenership of Radio Marti is down.

Of course, they fail to mention that people go to prison in Cuba for speaking the truth. They fail to acknowledge that “man in the street” type surveys will never yield reliable results because of fear or because many of those “average Cubans” are in the service of the regime and the party apparatus.

They also fail to mention recent surveys conducted by the U.S. Interests Section in Havana of human rights dissidents, independent journalists, and independent librarians which revealed that 93.1% of these pro-democracy activists listened to Radio Marti.

They fail to mention another recent survey by the Fundacion de Periodistas Independientes Asociados (the Foundation for Associated Independent Journalists) which polled 1,000 Cubans in Havana province. This survey showed that 92.5% of those surveyed listened to Radio Marti at some point during the day.

Nevertheless, I would like to reiterate that exact numbers, figures, and percentages *can never* be achieved in Cuba or *any* country ruled by a *totalitarian regime*, nor is this necessarily the *best* measure of the Martis’ effectiveness.

After all, in North Korea, where there is an extremely small audience listening, what has been the result of U.S. broadcasts? Defections of senior military officers and regime officials. And what do they say when they reach freedom? *Keep the broadcasts going.*

Critics further argue that the reason why Radio Marti listenership is down is because of “program content.”

Recently, at a mark-up of the International Relations Committee, the following statements were made; “I have asked many Cubans if they listened to Radio Marti. . . . They said, we used to, but we don’t anymore. . . . It is just *anti-Castro drivel* that we have heard before and there is no reason to listen to it.”

I would like Berta Mexidor and Ernesto Diaz Rodriguez—who represent a cross-section of Cuba’s pro-democracy opposition and who were directly involved in the struggle to bring freedom to Cuba—to respond to these claims during their testimony.

Ultimately, any discussion of Cuba Broadcasting requires context and a comprehensive examination. I am confident that the panel of witnesses we have today will help us fulfill this goal.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Thank you, Madam Chair. I would just like to remind us all that Martin Luther King, Jr. was murdered for challenging the United States government on domestic and foreign policy.

I would like to thank you for convening this important hearing, and thanks to our distinguished panelists for sharing their expertise and insights with us here today.

The timing of this hearing couldn’t be more appropriate, coming as it does when policy-makers of all political shades are in the midst of challenging previously-held views about the effectiveness of our Cuba policy.

While I’m certain that all of us here support the stated goals of U.S. policy—mainly, to promote peaceful, democracy reform and respect for human rights in Cuba, there are serious questions as to whether current policies actually contribute to that otherwise noble end.

Unfortunately, the debate on Cuba policy is often entangled in partisan wrangling and ideological absolutism impairing our ability

to look objectively at the situation. Therefore, I would like to thank my colleagues, Mr. Delahunt and Mr. Flake for raising these issues in a bi-partisan spirit and for offering a constructive proposal to improve our international broadcasting to Cuba.

In the 43 years since Castro's revolution, the Cuban people have not fared well. However, the situation of Afro-Cubans and other non-white Cubans who make up a majority of Cuba's populations, was terrible during the pre-Castro years.

Many Cuba observers today seem to have forgotten that before Cuba became a left-wing dictatorship, it was already a full-fledged right-wing dictatorship. Furthermore, many of those who are fond of pointing the finger have shown themselves to be no better than those they seek to replace.

But the issues we must deal with here relate to the future of U.S.-Cuba policy. It has become increasingly clear to many of us that the key aspects of our decades-old Cuba policy need to be reassessed and reconsidered.

Even before President Carter's historic visit to Cuba last month, many American policy-makers had been asking tough questions about our policy toward Cuba. What measurable gains has our current policy achieved? Who is the current policy helping? Who is it harming? Are our actions in line with our ideals?

Do where is the need to reassess our Cuba policy more evident than in the area of public diplomacy; particularly, international broadcasting to the Cuban people. While all of our broadcasters suffer from various philosophical and structural problems, Radio and TV Marti have come to epitomize the ineffectiveness, mismanagement and lack of vision of our international broadcasting apparatus as a whole.

To date, more than \$400 million in taxpayer funds have been spent to broadcast Radio and TV Marti. Whereas, roughly 5 percent of the population or half a million Cubans regularly tune in to Radio Marti for news and information, it's unclear that anything but the tiniest number of Cuban has access to TV Marti, whose signal is consistently jammed by the Cuban government.

It is perfectly appropriate and reasonable to wonder whether the \$10 million spent on TV Marti each year might be better spent some where else. At the same time, we have received troubling reports about mismanagement, croneism and other disturbing patterns at the Marti.

I'm especially concerned about reports of racial discrimination. If these reports are true, they point to a disturbing pattern in many of the international broadcasters. Any attempt to address these problems and make Cuba broadcasting more effective in its mission should be given serious consideration.

It's my hope that the current debate will steer clear of the ideological cliques and instead, focus on changes that will enhance Cuba broadcasting and U.S. policy objectives. Otherwise, we will continue to play in the politician margins of Cuban society and have no real impact on the lives of ordinary Cubans.

Once again, I'd like to thank Congressman Delahunt and Congressman Flake for prompting us to ask tough questions about our Cuba policy. While we may not get all of the answers to these dif-

difficult questions today, this hearing will no doubt serve to continue the ongoing debate over the future of U.S.-Cuba policy.

Thank you, Madam Chair. I look forward to hearing from our distinguished guests.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much. And pleased to yield to my good friend, Jeff Flake from Arizona.

Mr. FLAKE. Thank you, Madam Chairman. I thank you for convening this hearing.

Today's hearing is a result of an agreement reached 6 weeks ago during the mark-up of the Freedom Promotion Act of 2002. During that mark-up, Bill Delahunt and I offered two amendments that would have improved our nation's public diplomacy directed at the communist island of Cuba.

Let me begin by saying I support the objectives of both TV and Radio Marti. Under the Castro regime, there is no free press. Therefore, it makes sense that we provide the Cuban people with an outside source of news.

Unfortunately, we're not accomplishing our stated objective. Since 1984, U.S. taxpayers have spent \$157 million on TV Marti and \$249 million on Radio Marti. That's a total of \$406 million. I think it's safe to say the taxpayers have not gotten their money's worth. Instead, we broadcast to a television channel that no ordinary Cuban has ever seen and a radio station whose listenership has declined by about 70 percent since 1994.

Now since the mark-up, I've had the opportunity to further examine the Office of Cuban Broadcasting. Today, I'm even more convinced that changes are seriously needed.

In my mind the OCB has two significant problems which have resulted in declining listenership. First, the quality of the broadcast transmissions. The Cuban government heavily jams Radio Marti—more so in Havana than elsewhere, but not by much.

As I've stated before, because of jamming virtually no one sees TV Marti. I do understand some changes have been made to address this, and I'm anxious to hear about those changes. However, the point is we need to do something to ensure that Radio Marti is clearly broadcast to Cuba on a regular basis. Otherwise, it's a waste of taxpayer dollars as well.

Second, the quality of the programming is at issue. In reports back as far as 1990, Radio Marti has been criticized for lack of balance, fairness, objectivity and adequate sourcing.

Let me read some excerpts from the 1998 report by independent journalists—that we just heard about—that was commissioned by the BBG. Juan Vaquez said,

“I would find in listening to the news programs that substituting criticisms and editorial commentary for analysis was a reoccurring problem in news broadcasts. Perhaps the most glaring and disturbing problem of all, from a journalistic standpoint.”

Another member of the survey referred to a news Radio Marti segment as “pathological propaganda.” Sergio Busto said,

“I must criticize Radio Marti for failing to remain objective under the standards set by the VOA.”

Another quote—

“Objectivity goes by the way side when programming gets away from the straight top of the news hour.”

Charles Green said this.

Now this report is 4-years old, so you might think that things have changed. Unfortunately, the answer is no. According to a State Department report of the U.S. Interests Section from just last year:

“Cubans are said to complain to U.S. Interests Section personnel about Radio Marti programming being ‘too propagandistic’ and heavy-handed.”

Several mission staff members that they believed that station is not as relevant to Cuban daily life as it once had been. Cubans, whatever their views of the Castro regime, do not appreciate being constantly reminded of how difficult life in Cuba is. I think they know that better than anybody.

On February 11, 2002, a Cuban independent journalist—another one of these independent journalists—Manuel De Ve Oreo wrote an article entitled *Radio Marti at the Cross Roads*. In it, he wrote:

“It is painful to point out, hard to admit, if in Cuba, particularly, among independent journalists there is a consensus that Radio Marti should be a radio station dedicated to reflecting all political tendencies, providing a place for all voices and becoming a gorge of the diversity censored within Cuba, the truth is, it has never been further from that aspiration than it is now.”

In closing, I would like to quote Vladimiro Roca—now last time I checked, this is not a Cuban pool boy, is he? I think he was in prison for about 8 years—no, he spent 5 years in prison. After about 8 days after being released from that 5 years in prison, he said,

“I support improving the relations between Washington and Havana because this can help us in our fight.”

Well, until we follow Mr. Roca’s advice and allow the free flow of information to Cuba, and that would involve, I believe, allowing every American who wants to travel for himself or herself to see what a mess Castro has made of that island. Until we allow that free flow of information that we all want, then we need to provide the Cuban people with a consistent and professional source of news and information.

It’s my hope that this hearing will help accomplish this goal. Let me just say something about appeasement. We’ve been told that stopping or changing the way we broadcast—maybe shifting money, as we’ve proposed, from TV Marti, which nobody sees, to Radio Marti and improving that service, that, that is somehow appeasement.

Now how in the world can you not think that Fidel Castro is just sitting back laughing right now that we spend \$10 million a year to beam up a program that nobody sees, and then, on the radio side that we listenership decline from 70 some percent to 5 percent. I would think that we’re appeasing that man all we can right now, and we’ve got to change it. We’ve got to change something to make

sure that Cubans get an independent source of news and information that they want to listen to.

That's what this hearing is all about. I again thank the Chairwoman for convening the hearing.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much, Mr. Flake. And hats off to Vladimiro Roca.

It's interesting for me, when I hear about dissidents being freed in Cuba, how different their statements become when they're no longer monitored by Cuban security personnel, and we they seek exile in the United States and how different the interviews are.

I don't know if it would have anything to do with the monitoring by Cuban state security, but I could give you a whole long list of dissidents who say one thing in Cuba and when they come to the United States and they have the freedom to speak, they're saying something else.

Before I introduce our next speaker, I know that Congresswoman McKinney has great interest in opening statements about the conditions of Afro-Cubans on the island and I would hope that she would have the same concern about Afro-Cubans in the island who are in jail, prisoners of conscience, such as Dr. Oscar Elias Biscet, shown on Poster No. 1, Jorge Luis Perez "Antunez" Poster No. 4 or even Roman Colas, who testified before this Subcommittee about the conditions of Afro-Cubans on the island and how political prisoners are treated. There is one area where Castro does not have discrimination. He treats all political prisoners the same.

Ms. MCKINNEY. If the gentlewoman would yield, I would just say that not only am I concerned about Afro-Cubans. I'm concerned about Afro-Latinos as a whole. There is an entire dismal record with respect to the treatment of Afro-Latinos that needs to be addressed—

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Yes.

Ms. MCKINNEY [continuing]. By this Committee as well as the Full Committee.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. If I could ask my good friend to give me a list, and if she does not have it, I would like to provide her with a list of the number of high-ranking African-Cubans who are sitting in the highest levels of government in Fidel Castro's Cuba because I think Ms. McKinney, who is so interested in promoting and making sure that Afro-American get their fair share—

Ms. MCKINNEY. I've met them. Have you?

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. It's very interesting to see the number of Afro-Cubans who are missing—

Ms. MCKINNEY. I've met them. In fact, when Castro was being castigated for having troops—sending troops into Angola so that the Angolan people could be free of the racists apartheid government in South Africa, it was Castro who said that I have African blood that runs freely through my veins.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. He's just fair to all of them, absolutely. He's a wonderful liberator.

Ms. MCKINNEY. I thank the Cuban effort to provide some liberation and support for the people of Angola who were trying to free themselves from the racist, apartheid government intrusions into their country.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. I would like to welcome the agents of Fidel Castro who are here with us today from the Cuban Interests Section. We always say to them they are more than welcome to our Committee. In fact, we always make sure that you know about our Committee. We want you here and we would like for you to tell your tyrant dictator who rules the island that we have a free democracy here.

We welcome you. We welcome your participation. You don't need to spy on us. You don't need to have all these incredible operations. This is a free and open society. You're welcomed to report back to Fidel Castro that we have a free exchange of ideas and nothing happens.

Ms. MCKINNEY. On that I'm sure the Chairwoman and I agree.

Mr. FLAKE. Madam Chairwoman, may we have regular order.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Ms. McKinney, thank you. When you become Chair, I will be glad to give you the gavel.

Ms. MCKINNEY. I'm glad you said when and not if.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. I would be more than happy now to yield to Mr. Delahunt for his opening statement.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Well, I don't think that there's any doubt that democracy is alive and well in this particular room.

You know it's interesting that the Chairlady speaks about Afro-Cubans. I'd like to know the number of Afro-Cubans in the hierarchy of the Marti operation, but maybe that's a question I can pose to Mr. Lew during the question and answer format.

There is a gentleman by the name of Henrique Patterson that seems to make many statements regarding the role of Afro-Cubans in the radio and TV operations in Miami. I'll be interested in hearing Mr. Lew's response to the assertions of Henrique Patterson, who is an Afro-Cuban.

Since 1990, American taxpayers have spent \$158 million on TV Marti. But other than visitors to the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, who are there to pick up their visas as they leave Cuba, and those Cubans who may have satellite dishes—and in my travels to Cuba, I should suggest, I've seen very few satellite dishes, but maybe there is some data and evidence that the Committee staff might have regarding the number of satellite dishes in Cuba—there is no evidence that a single, ordinary Cuban has ever seen one program broadcast by TV Marti. It's a TV station without an audience. I have yet to hear—and I'm open-minded—a reasonable, responsible argument for its continued support by American taxpayers.

As others have indicated, as it relates to Radio Marti, there is a significant decline in listening audience. That is disturbing. It deserves a thorough review to determine what has happened. Why? I believe everyone should, at a minimum, share those concerns as to the value and the efficacy of these operations.

They are legitimate questions and it would be irresponsible. Especially, for Members of this Committee with its oversight obligation. Not to evaluate the situation and seek answers and possibly remedies.

Now it was suggested at the hearing that was referenced earlier that amendments filed by myself and Mr. Flake, which did, in fact, prompt this hearing, would provide a victory to Fidel Castro. That

it was our purpose to do so. That we were hateful and destructive in filing those amendments.

Well, nothing could be further from the truth. Our amendments were designed to provide a victory for the American taxpayer—a long, overdue one, I might add. The impugning of our motives is not only absurd and insulting, it's not conducive to a respectful and thoughtful debate on Cuba policy, which I submit is also long overdue.

Members of Congress should heed the observation by the *Miami Herald* that even as island Cubans have been losing fear, exiles here have been evolving. There is less rancor and more open debate on tough Cuban policy issues than ever. More talk of reconciliation, less of hate. I think we should all embrace that.

Now let me state for the record, the members of my family have served the United States in both war and peace ever since the turn of the century to defend and strengthen the civil liberties and political rights that those of us who are fortunate enough to live in this country enjoy. I take a back seat to no one when it comes to advocating for those same liberties and rights in Cuba.

Reasonable people can disagree on how to reach that goal, but it's not my intent, and I'm sure it's not the intent of Mr. Flake to indulge in the venomous, tawdry, rhetoric that seems to rear its ugly head whenever the subject of Cuba comes up. For I also share that perspective of Vladimiro Roca, who as Mr. Flake indicated was recently released from a 5-year sentence for his own efforts at constructive criticism. I would suggest that: That sentence presumably disqualifies him as a so-called "Castro dissident."

He believes that dialogue, negotiation and reconciliation will do more to force a democratic opening than continued American hard-line policies. With that, I yield.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Delahunt. I take no back seat in my family for any military duty. I don't know if you were in Vietnam or not, but my husband had half his face shot off and is in 90 percent disability because of his brave fight against communistic dictatorship, and we have a son who is a marine officer. So very glad that you have come from a military family, and I have a proud legacy of having a military family as well.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Well, we share something in common then, do we, Madam Chair?

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. That's wonderful. Thank you.

Mr. DELAHUNT. It is wonderful.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Ms. McKinney, I'd like to remind you that I, after an oversight hearing last year, included language in the State Department authorization bill requiring greater recruitment of minorities at the senior levels at all broadcasts and operations of the BBG. This bill is currently in Congress in conference.

I'd like not only the report—

Ms. MCKINNEY. I'd like to thank the Chairwoman.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN [continuing]. Excuse me, Ms. McKinney. I'll be glad to recognize you in a second. When you asked Mr. Salvador Lew about the number of African-Americans, I would like Mr. Delahunt to also ask him or ask someone from the Marti broadcast what were the number of African-Americans during the 8 years of the Clinton Administration when—

Mr. DELAHUNT. If the Chair will yield?

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Yes, Mr. Delahunt?

Mr. DELAHUNT. I will be glad to ask that—

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Please do.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I will be glad to ask that question. If you want to provide me, Madam Chair, with a list of questions, I will be happy to pose them.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. I will be glad to.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I'm willing to stay here all day to ask every question that you want to be asked because that's what democracy is about.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. That's right. I agree.

Mr. DELAHUNT. We want to demonstrate democracy, don't we Madam Chair?

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. We sure do. We want a stellar record of the Clinton Administration during his 8 years. We want to know all the African-American who served on Radio and TV Marti.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I certainly agree with you, Madam Chair.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. So let's do a broad study—eight years of Clinton Administration African-American hires. Thank you very much.

I'm pleased to yield to Mr. Diaz Balart.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Thank you very much, Madam Chairwoman for inviting me. As a Member of the Rules Committee, I had to give up my active membership on this Committee; but do retain the seniority and also the great interest in the very important subjects that this Committee reviews on a constant basis.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Always welcome, as is all the Members of the Full Committee or any other Committee.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Thank you. This morning I can't remain for long precisely because of my other obligations, but I did want to come by and welcome all of the distinguished panelists here today.

This is an important subject. The broadcasting by the United States to the totalitarian island only 90 miles away from the United States, I think, deserves our support. It is an endeavor that I am confident—I am certain will be seen by historians as extraordinarily worthy during this time of oppression and sadness in the enslaved island of Cuba.

I think that the primary, as I have been able to grasp it during most of the debates in the last years attacking Cuban broadcasting, the major point of attack has been the alleged blocking or jamming, which without any doubt exist—the very intense jamming and jamming efforts by the Cuban dictatorship of the broadcasts.

I would like to see recommendations—

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Hold on a second. I think they're jamming it again. Hold on again, Mr. Diaz Balart.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. I'm sorry. If you could start again Mr. Diaz Balart.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I will summarize. What I've seen in the last years with regard to the focal point of the attacks against Cuba broadcasts, generally, they have been based on—more than anything else—allegations that since jamming exists by the dictatorship that then we should give up because of the fact that jamming sometimes is successful; especially, with regard to television to a

great extent. It's very intense, and increasingly so, as the Chairwoman has stated with regard to radio as well.

Then we should then give up the effort to permit that option of unbiased news and information. We should give up on our effort to provide that option to the Cuban people because jamming exists.

My point of view has been, and the Chairwoman stated it in her opening statement very eloquently—a statement that certainly I share with the Chairwoman—a position that I share with the Chairwoman—and that is, that if jamming exists it should be sought to be overcome to the greatest extent possible. I think we should commend President Bush for having stated, more than once, that, that is the objective of his Administration—to modernize Radio and Television Marti and to make it, as much as possible, able to be received by the Cuban people.

The jamming that exists is an obstacle to be overcome. It is not a reason for giving up in my view. So what I would like to see—what I would like to hear are suggestions with regard to how we can improve the reception of the option of unbiased news and information by and for the Cuban people.

I disagree with those who would have us give up our effort because there is jamming by the dictatorship. So with those who are seeking end part or all of our Cuba broadcasting because of the existing of jamming—certainly, that is the main reason, as I say. I mean, obviously, we want to end the jamming for other reasons. But in terms of the arguments, I would say that the consensus argue has been in the last years the argument of jamming.

In my view it doesn't hold up to a fair analysis or debate because there has been at least or much more intense jamming of other programming that we do not see these efforts at ending—whether it's jamming toward the oppressed people in China—jamming the programming for the oppressed people of China or North Korea or other places, jamming has been very intense there and yet, we don't hear and we don't see the same kinds of efforts in this Congress—I certainly have not seen them—toward ending our broadcast because jamming exist in those totalitarian societies as well.

So that's why I maintain that an objective analysis will not hold the argument that we should end because of the existence of jamming. But I look forward to—I will review all of the testimony and read all of the testimony presented by our distinguished panelists today. Hope to see some suggestions with regard to how there can be improvement of our objective of getting the objective—the news and information without censorship that is sent by Television and Radio Marti, and I know the men and women who work at Radio Marti and I commend them all, including Dr. Salvador Aero, for their hard work.

So what I would like to see is ways in which their work, the work of the men and women of Radio and Television Marti can better be received by the Cuban people. That I would like to see recommendations with regard to how it can be done from the panelists.

Madam Chairman, thank you very much. Mr. Delahunt, one suggestion with regard to suggestions—we read in the *Miami Herald* about how points of view are changing in South Florida. We have to listen to so many things—so many allegations with regard to

what the Cuban people believe or don't believe, and unfortunately, they're not going to be verified until there are free elections in Cuba.

One thing I would say with regard to South Florida is that we do have elections every 2 years in South Florida, and that at the very least, even though we do not see a situation where there are free elections in Cuba yet, there will be. Then the whole world will see how the Cuba people feel.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes. Just let me—I mean, you probably have already interrupted my train of thought, but that's all right.

With regard to South Florida, at the very least, we can see how the people feel because they have an opportunity within the self-determination provided by the United States constitution to express themselves, thank God, every 2 years. So that's something that I would like to remind my friends like Mr. Delahunt. Yes, I will yield.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I thank the gentleman for yielding. I'm glad that we hold elections in Florida. I think I'll just let that sit out there for reflection.

I note the Department of Justice has some issues with the most recent elections in Florida, but you're correct, Mr. Diaz Balart, that our system will progress through our problems with our electoral process.

I want to commend the gentleman. I do that for making a presentation that did not just simply indulge in rhetoric, but made some suggestions and recommendations that I think we can all share in terms of a thoughtful analysis and evaluation in assessment of where we go in terms of just not the Office for Cuba Broadcasting, but also in terms of what we ought to be doing.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Delahunt.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Well, if I can continue?

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Well, I would like that, but we have a few other speakers and we have a vote. I think you made your opening statement unless you'd like to wrap up with Congressman Diaz Balart.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Go ahead.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Well, I can do that with Lincoln then on the floor of the House.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. That will be great.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I will happy to defer to the Chair.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. I would be very pleased if you could to that. I'm very happy to recognize Mr. Bob Menendez for his opening statement.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Well, thank you, Madam Chairlady. To you and the ranking democrat, thank you for holding this hearing and for designating U.S. Broadcasting to Cuba as the Voice of Freedom.

As you know, the Voice of Freedom resonates in Cuba because there is no such freedom. Let me just say that anyone who believes that Fidel Castro is anything more than a white Spaniard is hallucinating. I believe that more heat than light maybe be generated in this hearing, but let me try to make some value of it.

Let me take advantage of this broadcast opportunity to say to the Cuban people, as they courageously pursue the Varela Project. In

the spirit Father Felix Varela, a hero of Cuban independence, do not fear change. Do not fear those who oppress you. And especially, do not fear Fidel Castro. Abandon fear and you can and will make change. (Speaks in Spanish.)

The brave dissidents who have endured the brutal oppression of totalitarian dictatorships throughout the world have consistently said that change in their countries began when people lost their fear of the oppressive state and security apparatus.

That is what I would like to discuss today. That is, how can we best spread a message of hope and courage to the oppressed people of Cuba. Where there is a will; there is a way. It may be a cliché, but it is also a truism.

For years, I have listened to platitudes from the Administration, both the previous one and now this one, about making Radio and TV Marti more effective. Just months after entering office, President Bush said, and I quote,

“My No. 1 priority is to make sure that Radio and TV Marti is broadcast clearly to Cuba, allowing every Cuban citizen access to accurate news and information.

“In order to do that, I have instructed him—I’m not quite sure who ‘him’ was, but we’ll find out—to use all available means to overcome the jamming of Radio and TV Marti. Once we open the flow of information, demands for freedom will ring stronger than ever.”

On May 20th of this year, the President reiterated his commitment to find ways to modernize Radio and TV Marti. It has now been a year and a half. The Administration has been strong in its rhetoric, but short on results. I have yet to see the will to make both media, but TV in particular, achieve maximum effort.

I’m interesting in hearing from the Administration’s witnesses; especially, what the President meant by “all available means.” The apparent lack of will, that lack of determination seems to give fodder to those who would use the Marti as another front of changes in U.S. policies aimed at normalizing relations with the Castro dictatorship in exchange for nothing.

For nothing—not the release of political prisoners, whose only crime is to want respect for basic human rights and the rule of law for their countrymen; not the establishment of a free press; not a free and fair election; not labor rights; not the freedom to buy, sell and produce goods and services as allocated by the logic of the marketplace instead of the whims of regime.

I just simply would hope—and I think I have been steadfast in my principled views. I’ve been, I think, amongst the most consistent Members on this issue and have respected all sides. But I do wish my colleagues would have the same zeal, would have the same fervor and the same standards about dictatorship, about human rights and about pro-democracy movements in Cuba as they have in other parts of the world.

No entity has been under greater siege than Cuba broadcasting from its very inception. In the last hearing when we had the mark-up, I had a long list of how many reviews—and if you look at who’s asked for each of those reviews, it’s always been someone who opposes our policy in principle. They have the right to oppose our pol-

icy in principle, but if you put an agency constantly under siege, it can never reform. It can never reform.

Now some will claim that Broadcasting to Cuba lacks an audience. They will not doubt cite surveys taken in a country where legitimate opinion surveys do not exist, and perhaps, give personal testimony of conversations of interviews with people conducted during an official visit. Testimony as reliable as that which came from visitors to the Eastern Bloc under Soviet rule.

These claims will not differ much from the testimony of those who oppose other U.S. broadcasting efforts around the world. But I hope that my colleagues understand that part of what we're doing here is establishing a standard. You can't just pick and choose when you want to have a standard for one agency and another.

This standard must be universal in nature as it relates to all U.S. surrogate broadcasting taking place in the world. I will seek to ascribe those standards against the Voice of America and Radio Free Asia and Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, and the Middle East broadcasting and the soon Radio Free Afghanistan.

Our government has never shrunk from supporting people throughout the world through our public diplomacy efforts, and broadcasting is a key part of that. We have never allowed jamming, for example, to undermine our efforts because clearly then we might as well give up on surrogate broadcasting.

Always, we have been thanked profusely for making a critical difference at a critical time in helping to build what those countries sorely lacked—a civil society. Either it was Vaclav Havel or Lech Walesa, pro-democracy activists in China or dissidents in Cuba, as we will hear today, we have been thanked profusely.

I would be very interested in listening to the Administration as well as what they're doing with section 109 programs, which I authored under title II of Helms-Burton to help build civil society in Cuba to see what the Administration is doing so that we can broadcast those issues to the people of Cuba.

Finally, where there is will; there is a way. It is the twilight of the Castro nightmare in Cuba. As dawn approaches in Cuba, the United States stands as a beckon of hope as it has and always will be. Change will come to Cuba. It is a matter of time. We have a choice—communicate our peaceful intentions, our respect for Cuba sovereignty, our intention to assist the Cuban people as they move toward democracy or shut off or hinder that communication.

The President has spoken. Now we will see whether he follows through. Where there is a will; there is a way. Thank you, Madam Chairlady.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much, Mr. Menendez. We have here with us today an expert panel of witnesses from the Administration who can offer their valuable insight on the daily operations and the importance of Radio and TV Marti.

Today, we will begin with the testimony of Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, Mr. Daniel Fisk.

A veteran in Washington, DC and Latin American foreign policy, Mr. Fisk worked for both the Reagan and Bush, Sr. Administrations on defense, public diplomacy and counter-narcotics within the Latin American region.

He then went on to both the House and Senate Foreign Affairs Committee before becoming Deputy Director of the Davis Institute for International Studies at the Heritage Foundation, where he remained until being sworn into office earlier this year.

Thank you very much for being here with us, Mr. Fisk. He will be accompanied by Neil Walsh from the Bureau of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. Thank you so much, Mr. Walsh.

Mr. Fisk will be followed by a good friend, Mr. Adolfo Franco. Welcome back, Adolfo.

In February of 2002 Adolfo left the back corridor of this Committee to become the Assistant Administrator for Latin America and the Caribbean of the U.S. Agency of International Development. Before joining us here, where he served as counsel, he was the President of the Inter-American Foundation, where he had worked since 1985.

It is our pleasure to have you back, but this time from the other side. Thank you.

Next, we will hear from Mr. Brian Conniff, the acting director for International Broadcasting Bureau and the executive director for the Broadcasting Board of Governors, where he acts as a liaison between the Board and the broadcasting entities such as the Office of Cuba Broadcasting. Having a long history with the important tool that is international broadcasting, he previously served as inspector general for the Board of International Broadcasting from '89 to '95.

We thank you very much for joining us here, and we welcome you.

Lastly, we will hear the testimony from Dr. Salvador Lew, director of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting. Dr. Lew has been the director of Radio and TV Marti since 2001. Before that, he served on the Presidential Advisory Board for Broadcasting to Cuba as an appointee by the previous Bush Administration.

Previously, Dr. Lew enjoyed a successful career as the President and General Manager for programming, and served as host at various radio stations. Welcome to all of you.

Our Subcommittee will briefly recess for a vote, and we will come back and listen to your testimony. The Subcommittee is in recess.

[Recess.]

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. We are back in order. We would like to recognize Mr. Fisk to summarize his statement. All of your full statements will be made a part of the record without objection.

STATEMENT OF DANIEL W. FISK, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY, BUREAU OF WESTERN HEMISPHERE AFFAIRS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. FISK. Madam Chair, thank you very much for the earlier kind introduction. I also want to thank you and Members of the Committee for the invitation to testify today on the importance of the free flow of information into Cuba.

Being an alumnus of the professional staff of this Committee, it is also a distinct honor for me to be here, though, I have to acknowledge that the room looks much different from this vantage point than it does sitting from the staff seats behind you.

Days ago, on May 20th, on the 100th anniversary of Cuban independence, President Bush announced his Initiative for a New Cuba, challenging the Castro regime to respect the rights and sovereign will of the Cuban people, and affirming the commitment of the United States to support their aspirations for true liberty.

I also want to note that this hearing comes on the eve of the 20th anniversary of President Reagan's Westminster speech, where he asked us to be "stance in our conviction that freedom is not the sole prerogative of a lucky few, but the inalienable and universal right of all human beings." Where he committed the United States to assist democracy's development.

These two speeches have defined the resolve of the United States to promote democratic processes, and have made it clear to the world that we, as a nation, seek to empower those struggling for freedom and the right to determine their own future.

With Castro's Cuba, we are engaged in a struggle of ideas against the last vestige of totalitarianism in the Western Hemisphere. Castro fears the free flow of ideas and information and continues to do whatever it takes, be it by censorship or manipulation, to control information and news to and from the island.

Recognizing the importance of ideas in the struggle for a free Cuba, President Bush's policy is clear. We will build on and modernize existing mechanisms to get information—to get the message of freedom and democracy to the Cuban people. We will work harder and we will work smarter in exploring ways of getting this message to the island.

Radio and TV Marti are critical elements of our initiative to break Castro's monopoly on information to the Cuban people. For nearly 20 years the Marti's have sought to support the right of the people of Cuba to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media, and regardless of frontiers, in accordance with the universal declaration of human rights.

President Bush has pledged to look for ways to modernize Radio and TV Marti, specifically. We would not, more over, limit the means by which we get information and ideas to the island. If I may quote from the late Dante Fascell, former Chairman of this Committee, and a strong advocate of freedom for Cuba,

"We are in a contest of ideas and ideals. We need every conceivable means to get our message across."

The necessity of using every conceivable means to get our message across to the people of Cuba is reflected in our thinking and actions. The men and women of U.S. Interest Section in Havana have been and remain able partners with the Marti, complementing electronic outreach with people-to-people contact and the distribution of informational materials.

In May 2001 the U.S. Interests Section began an enhanced outreach initiative to increase, not just the flow of materials to the Cuban people, but also the visibility of our effort. Visibility is important since civil society activists on the island, both welcome it and are strengthened by international support for their struggle.

Specifically, we expanded our book distribution program, including books and magazines for independent libraries; established and staffed a multi-media center with internet access in the Interests

Section's consultant waiting room; distributed tools of the trade, including radios and tape recorders for independent journalists; and provided assistance to independent religious and community-based organizations for small, local projects.

Furthermore, we have dedicated over \$100,000 in Fiscal Year '02 public diplomacy funds for this enhanced outreach initiative. We are looking at additional avenues for getting information to the Cuban people.

For example, we are exploring academic and professional exchange opportunities for deserving and qualified Cubans. We at State are partners with USAID, the Broadcasting Board of Governors, and the Office of Cuban Broadcasting in this battle of ideas against a dictator who has betrayed the aspirations of the Cuban people and who remains in power by denying Cubans the right to make informed choices as to how they will live and be governed.

Our policy is to accelerate freedom's progress in Cuba in every way possible. As President Bush said May 20th,

“Even the strongest walls of oppression cannot stand when the floodgates of information and knowledge are opened.”

Implementation of President Bush's mandate to enhance the flow of information to the island is a vital element in helping the Cuban people achieve a democratic future. Thank you. I'd be happy to take questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Fisk follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DANIEL W. FISK, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY, BUREAU OF WESTERN HEMISPHERE AFFAIRS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Madam Chairman, members of the Committee, it is an honor for me to testify today before this committee of the United States House of Representatives regarding the importance of the free flow of information into Cuba. I want to thank the Chairman for giving me this opportunity to testify before this committee.

On May 20, Cuban Independence Day, President Bush announced his Initiative for a New Cuba—in effect giving the Cuban people the opportunity to achieve true liberty—that same liberty they sought from Spanish rule a century ago, and which Fidel Castro stole from them nearly fifty years ago.

President Bush's Initiative offers the Castro regime an opportunity to redirect the future of the Cuban people and their relations with the world. He calls on the Cuban government to undertake political and economic reforms, and to conduct free and fair elections next year for the National Assembly. The Initiative challenges the Cuban government to open its economy, allow independent trade unions, and end discriminatory practices against Cuban workers.

The Initiative for a New Cuba also reaches out to the Cuban people immediately by facilitating humanitarian assistance to the Cuban people by American non-governmental groups; by seeking the resumption of direct mail service to and from Cuba; and by establishing scholarships in the United States for Cuban students and professionals trying to build independent civil institutions.

The Initiative is important because Cuba continues to be ruled by a dictator. The regime has failed to meet the basic needs of the Cuban people and it continues to deny them the freedoms of speech and assembly as well as the ability to choose their leaders. The world knows this and the Cuban people know this. Just two months ago, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, in a resolution proposed by the nations of Latin America, called upon Cuba's government to respect the human rights of its people. The Committee to Protect Journalists continues to list Cuba as one of the 10 worst enemies of the press worldwide characterizing its actions as a “scorched earth assault” on independent journalists.

Cuba is the exception to our family of democratic nations in this hemisphere. It is essential that democratic development, especially through the formation of independent civil society organizations, political parties, and free elections, begin rapidly in order to maximize the prospects for a smooth transition to democracy.

For years, the United States has been a strong and consistent supporter of freedom for the Cuban people by reaching out to support and inform those who work peacefully for democratic change. Certainly, as you will soon hear, Radio and Television Marti have sought for nearly twenty years to support the right of the people of Cuba “to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers,” in accordance with Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The men and women of the U.S. Interest Section in Havana for decades have been able partners with the Martis, complementing electronic outreach with people to people contact and the distribution of informational materials to break Fidel Castro’s monopoly on news and information within Cuba. As the late Dante B. Fascell, former Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and outspoken supporter of the Martis said, “We are in a contest of ideas and ideals. We need every conceivable means to get our message across.”

And we continue to explore new ways of getting that message of freedom and democracy to the Cuban people. In May 2001, the U.S. Interests Section began what we call the Enhanced Outreach Initiative to increase not just the flow of information materials to the Cuban people, but also the visibility of our effort. The visibility issue is an important one, since the activist community welcomes and is strengthened by international support for and involvement in its struggle for human rights.

In particular, USINT requested and received from the Department of State \$335,000 (\$235,000 in ESF and \$100,000 from public diplomacy funds), to:

- expand its book distribution program;
- establish and staff a multimedia center with internet access in the consular waiting room;
- purchase magazine subscriptions and “basic bookshelves” of standard titles for distribution to independent libraries;
- develop and distribute “journalist kits” (including short wave radios, tape recorders, and other tools of the trade) for independent journalists;
- fund an Outreach Coordinator, who works with all elements of the Interests Section to ensure that our various agency efforts to reach the Cuban people work to maximum effect;
- and provide assistance to independent religious and community-based organizations for small, local projects through the Principal Officer’s “self help” fund.

These activities were financed by Economic Support Funds, with the support of the Congress, and by the State Department’s Bureau of Western Hemispheric Affairs FY01 public diplomacy budget.

Even before the Initiative for a New Cuba, the United States recognized that freedom sometimes grows step by step. We have encouraged those steps, and will continue to do so. We have earmarked over \$100,000 in FY02 public diplomacy funds for the Enhanced Outreach Initiative, and we will be seeking to program additional ESF funding. This year we hope to explore academic and professional exchange opportunities for deserving and qualified Cubans—with the hope that their own government will allow them to travel to the United States to take advantage of these opportunities to acquire knowledge, establish professional and personal connections with Americans across the country, and experience for themselves what it is like to live in liberty. As we have seen around the world, these connections change people. And many of those people become, themselves, agents of change when they return home.

This year, we will also seek to:

- replenish the Principal Officer’s self-help fund;
- maintain the multi-media center, create a private media room at USINT where Cubans can see videos and participate in discussions via telephone with American experts on a variety of topics;
- and step up the purchase and distribution of books, magazines, and radios.

And I know that President Bush has pledged to look for ways to modernize Radio and TV Marti, in view of the simple fact that, as he said May 20, “Even the strongest walls of oppression cannot stand when the floodgates of information and knowledge are opened.”

Jose Marti said that “Barriers of ideas are stronger than barricades of stone.” We at State are partners with our colleagues in broadcasting and at USAID in this frankly pitched battle of ideas with a dictator who has betrayed the aspirations of the Cuban people, and remains in power by denying his people the right to make informed choices as to how they will live. The current of history runs against dic-

tators like Castro, and strongly toward freedom. Our plan is to accelerate freedom's progress in Cuba in every way possible, just as the United States and our democratic friends and allies did successfully in places like Poland and South Africa. Establishing and maintaining a free flow of information in those countries was critical to bringing about democratic change. The implementation of the President's mandate to increase vigorously the flow of information to the Cuban people will surely have a vital role in helping the Cuban people bring about a democratic transformation.

Thank you Madam Chairman.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much, Mr. Fisk. Mr. Franco?

STATEMENT OF ADOLFO FRANCO, ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR, BUREAU FOR LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN, U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Mr. FRANCO. Thank you, Madam Chair. Thank you very much for that very kind introduction and for this opportunity to testify on behalf of the United States Agency for International Development concerning the programs carried out by Radio and TV Marti, which directly communicate with and inform the freedom-deprived people of Cuba.

It's also good to be home here at the International Relations Committee, Madam Chair.

On May 20th of this year, President Bush announced an initiative for a new Cuba that offers Cuba's government a way forward toward democracy and hope and better relations with the United States.

In the interim, as noted by Secretary Fisk, the President has said of the administration:

"We'll continue to look for ways to modernize Radio and TV Marti because even the strongest walls of oppression cannot stand when the floodgates of information and knowledge are opened."

Madam Chair, we at USAID firmly believe Radio and TV Marti provide an indispensable means of communicating directly with the Cuban people, helping to build civil society and thereby, promoting a rapid, peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba.

The USAID Cuba Program has as its central objective to increase the flow of accurate information on democracy, human rights and free enterprise to, from and within Cuba. Radio Marti transmissions greatly facilitate and increase the flow of information to the island.

Radio Marti call-in programs provide a unique channel for the views and questions of the Cuban people themselves. There are significant opportunities to increase the reach and effectiveness of Radio Marti as well as my colleagues will testify.

We at USAID know, from staff travel, through every province in Cuba, through contact with thousands of Cuban citizens and through post-collaboration with the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, that Radio Marti programming reaches the Cuban people and gives them hope that their struggle for freedom will ultimately succeed.

We have also verified that small, portable short wave radios in Cuba clearly receive Radio Marti programming as well as Spanish-language transmissions from other independent and democratic sources in the Western Hemisphere and Europe.

For this reason, USAID is making a special effort to provide portal, short wave radios, rechargeable batteries and battery rechargers to the Cuban people. More than 1000 Cuban citizens have already received these items, and with your continued help and support, we at USAID intend to supply thousands more.

USAID also encourages USAID program grantees, including U.S. universities and other non-governmental organizations to share their information, analysis and reports with Radio Marti for its transmission to the Cuban people in order to stimulate a dialogue and informed discussion on the island.

USAID also strongly supports efforts to strengthen TV Marti and to provide TV Marti programming to the Cuban people, not only through direct airwaves transmission, but also via satellite, via the internet, via video cassettes, and in other ways possible. As does the President, I strongly support TV Marti and efforts to modernize it to ensure its reception everywhere in Cuba.

In pursuit of the President's information dissemination objective, the USAID Cuba Program specifically seeks to do the following—to build democracy and solidarity with Cuba's human rights activists; give voice to Cuba's independent journalists; help develop independent Cuban non-governmental organizations; defend the rights of Cuban workers; provide direct outreach to the Cuban people; and help the Cuban people plan and participate in the rapid and peaceful transition to democracy that has been too long delayed.

Madam Chair, I'm grateful for your support of USAID's Cuba Program and the recognition that USAID is uniquely qualified to direct and carry out these programs in support of democracy for Cuba.

Radio Marti programming transmissions facilitate USAID's work as well in the following ways—first, it gives Cuba's human rights activists, who depend on Radio Marti, accurate and timely information and moral support, a central ingredient in the preparation for a future democratic Cuba.

Secondly, Cuba's independent journalists transmit their stories to non-governmental organizations funded by USAID, which then transcribes them and sends them back to the Cuban people in hard copy as well as through broadcast by Radio Marti.

Third, Cuban non-governmental organizations receive valuable training and advice through Radio Marti programs. Fourth, Radio Marti defends the rights of Cuban workers through its series of discussions and interviews with U.S. and other free world labor leaders, and by reminding the Cuban people that those foreign enterprises which currently participate in the Cuban economy have the moral responsibility to respect international labor conventions that uphold the rights of collective bargaining and direct compensation among many others.

Fifth, transition planning—the planning of international assistance to fund a future transition and government in Cuba can only work if the Cuban people themselves participate. Radio Marti helps make that possible as well.

In conclusion, Madam Chair, USAID strongly support continued funding for Radio and TV Marti as indispensable means of dissemi-

nating accurate information on democracy, human rights and free enterprise to the Cuban people.

USAID also pledges continued close collaboration to ensure a rapid, peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba—a mission that USAID is uniquely qualified to carry out.

Madam Chair, before concluding my testimony, I wish to take this opportunity to applaud your efforts and leadership on these timely issues, and to thank you for all you have done and are doing to bringing about freedom to the people of Cuba. I would be happy to answer any of your or the Committee's questions. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Franco follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ADOLFO FRANCO, ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR, BUREAU FOR LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN, U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Madam Chair, thank you for this opportunity to testify on behalf of USAID concerning the programs carried out by Radio and TV Marti which directly communicate with and inform the freedom-deprived people of Cuba.

On May 20 of this year, President Bush announced an initiative for a New Cuba that offers Cuba's government a way forward towards democracy and hope, and better relations with the United States. The President said that this Administration "will continue to look for ways to modernize Radio and TV Marti, because even the strongest walls of oppression cannot stand when the floodgates of information and knowledge are opened."

Madam Chair, we in USAID firmly believe Radio and TV Marti provide an indispensable means of communicating directly with the Cuban people, helping to build civil society, and thereby promoting a rapid, peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba.

The USAID Cuba program has as its central objective to increase the flow of accurate information on democracy, human rights and free enterprise to, from, and within Cuba. Radio Marti transmissions greatly facilitate and increase the flow of information. And Radio Marti call-in programs provide a unique channel for the views and questions of the Cuban people themselves. There are significant opportunities to increase the reach and effectiveness of TV Marti, as well.

We at USAID know from staff travel through every province in Cuba, through contact with thousands of Cuban citizens, and through close collaboration with the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, that Radio Marti programming reaches the Cuban people and gives them hope that their struggle for freedom will ultimately succeed.

We have verified that small portable short-wave radios in Cuba clearly receive Radio Marti programming, as well as Spanish-language transmissions from other independent and democratic sources in the Western Hemisphere and Europe.

For this reason, USAID is making a special effort to provide portable short-wave radios, rechargeable batteries and battery re-chargers to the Cuban people. More than a thousand Cuban citizens have already received these items, and with your continued help and support, we at USAID intend to supply thousands more.

USAID also encourages USAID Cuba program grantees, including U.S. universities and other non-governmental organizations, to share their information, analysis and reports with Radio Marti, for its transmission to the Cuban people in order to stimulate dialogue and informed discussion on the island.

USAID also strongly supports efforts to strengthen TV-Marti, and to provide TV-Marti programming to the Cuban people, not only through direct airwave transmission, but also via satellite, via the internet, by video cassette, and in other ways. As does the President, I strongly support TV Marti and efforts to modernize it to ensure its reception everywhere in Cuba.

In pursuit of the President's information dissemination objective, the USAID Cuba program specifically seeks to:

- Build solidarity with Cuba's human rights activists;
- Give voice to Cuba's independent journalists;
- Help develop independent Cuban non-governmental organizations;
- Defend the rights of Cuban workers;
- Provide direct outreach to the Cuban people; and
- Help the Cuban people plan and participate in the rapid and peaceful transition to democracy that has been too long delayed.

Madam Chair, I am grateful for your support of USAID's Cuba program and the recognition that USAID is uniquely qualified to direct and carry out these programs in support of democracy for Cuba.

Radio Marti programming and transmissions facilitate USAID's work in all these areas:

- Cuba's human rights activists depend on Radio Marti for accurate and timely information, and for moral support—essential ingredients in the preparation of a future democratic Cuba.
- Cuba's independent journalists transmit their stories to non-governmental organizations funded by USAID which then transcribe them and send them back to the Cuban people in hard copy as well as through broadcasts by Radio Marti.
- Cuban non-governmental organizations receive valuable training and advice through Radio Marti programs.
- Radio Marti defends the rights of Cuban workers through its series of discussions and interviews with U.S. and other free-world labor leaders, and by reminding the Cuban people that those foreign enterprises who currently participate in the Cuban economy have the moral responsibility to respect international labor conventions that uphold the rights of collective bargaining and direct compensation, among many others.
- Transition planning—the planning of international assistance to a future transition government in Cuba—can only work if the Cuban people participate. Radio Marti helps make that possible as well.

In conclusion, Madam Chair, USAID strongly supports continued funding for Radio and TV Marti, as indispensable means of disseminating accurate information on democracy, human rights, and free enterprise to the Cuban people. And USAID also pledges continued close collaboration to ensure a rapid, peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba, a mission that USAID is uniquely qualified to carry out.

Madam Chair, before concluding my testimony, I wish to take this opportunity to applaud your efforts and leadership on these timely issues, and to thank you for all you have done and are doing to bring freedom to the people of Cuba. I would be happy to answer any of your or the Committee's questions.

Thank you.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much, Mr. Franco. Mr. Conniff?

STATEMENT OF BRIAN CONNIFF, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF THE INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING BUREAU, BROADCASTING BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Mr. CONNIFF. Madam Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee, I would like to thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today to discuss the mission and activities of Radio and TV Marti.

You have asked that I focus my remarks on the technical obstacles to getting a clear signal into Cuba given the jamming that's been directed at Radio and TV Marti since their inception.

The International Broadcasting Bureau is the main operational entity within the BBG. It is responsible for supervising the Voice of America in the Office of Cuba Broadcasting and for providing transmission assets and engineering services to the BBG's broadcast entities.

Like our transmissions to many key parts of the world, broadcasting to Cuba has been consistently jammed. We have faced similar challenges in broadcasting to the former Soviet Union in the '70s and '80s. We face it today in China, Vietnam and other parts of the world.

The more oppressive the government, the more likely we are to be jammed. But we have learned over the years that our message gets through in spite of the jamming. We have received many mes-

sages from those who have struggled to listen to our broadcast in spite of government efforts to suppress them, expressing gratitude that we continue the transmission, even though they were heavily jammed.

Radio Marti broadcasts on short wave and medium wave frequencies and both are jammed. Radio Marti 1180 KHz medium wave (AM) is broadcasted from our Marathon, Florida transmitter. It has been jammed since its inception in 1985. Jamming is primarily concentrated in the urban areas, and we have reports that in rural areas and smaller cities, the signal is received without interference.

IBB also supplements Radio Marti on four short wave transmitters simultaneously throughout the day, broadcasting from our Greenville, North Carolina and Delano, California stations. At least two of these frequencies are not regularly jammed and are received by the Cuban population. The remaining short wave transmissions are jammed.

The effectiveness of short wave jamming varies, depending on the location of the listener with respect to the jammer, and sometimes the jamming changes in intensity to counter specific programs. Jamming is most effective in and around Havana.

TV Marti is transmitted via UHF signals from an aerostat on Cudjoe Key, Florida. Broadcasting four and a half hours a day, the transmission system provides three different channels, which can be switched, so that attempts can be made to avoid the jammers.

On May 20th of this year TV Marti broadcast schedule was changed from the early morning hours of 3:30 a.m. to 8:30 a.m. to a prime time slot of 6 p.m. to 10:30 p.m. Although we don't have official evidence that the audience has increased due to the broadcast schedule change, TV Marti has received phone calls from Cuba that indicate that people are watching in prime time.

The calls, however, are primarily from outside the Havana area, suggesting there may be jamming in the capital city. We have asked the U.S. Interests Section to provide us with a report on this schedule change.

TV Marti satellite signals are not effected by jamming and are received clearly in Cuba and throughout the Caribbean, Central and South America.

Cuban government officials and military personnel are able to view TV Marti via satellite. Although this is arguable an elite audience, it is a desirable target of potential opinion makers for these broadcasts.

TV Marti can also be received on the internet and is available on cable networks throughout Latin America, and is seen by visitors to the U.S. Interests Section in Havana. Like much of the rest of the world, Cuban audiences are turning increasingly to television as a source of news and information.

TV Marti, although jammed, is well-positioned to become an important instrument of U.S. foreign policy should a crisis occur on the island or transition to a democratic government take place.

Short wave remains an effective transmission media for reaching the audiences in Cuba. There are several ways we can enhance our current short wave transmission schedule. The current schedule, as I said, employs four simultaneous short wave transmissions

throughout the day. Although, this already strains our existing facilities, we have considered and have, at times, added additional frequencies during a period of crisis.

We're currently exploring the possibility of constructing additional antennas at our North Carolina station, which would permit the use of lower power transmitters directed toward Cuba. This would achieve a listening signal during much of the day and perhaps, forcing the Cuban government to further expend resources to jam our signals. The IBB could also lease additional short wave transmission capabilities from other domestic or international short wave broadcasters.

Improving medium wave transmission to Cuba is more problematic. As the Committee is aware, the BBG proposed a modification of the IBB medium wave transmission facility in Belize for broadcast to Cuba. However, the government of Belize declined to permit the use for that station.

We have received reports that some AM stations that broadcast from South Florida can be, at times, heard in Cuba. Our technical analysis confirm that signals from several of these stations can reliably reach parts of Cuba, but the level of interference at these stations must contend with, in Cuba, from local stations or other broadcast in the Caribbean is likely to be significant.

Even if Florida medium wave stations were willing to lease broadcast time to the U.S. Government, we would have to make sure that the program content of those stations was compatible with our mission.

We have also explored leasing AM broadcast time in other locations throughout the Caribbean. We have made inquiries with Grand Turk Island, Grand Cayman Island and Bonaire, but to date, no location has proved to be both technically feasible or available for lease.

While broadcasting to Cuba from ships and aircraft outside the national territory of the United States is technologically feasible, the international telecommunication union radio regulations adopted by the United States specifically prohibit these broadcasts.

We've also been asked about the technical feasibility of broadcasting from the U.S. Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba. The geography of Guantanamo Bay poses many practical problems for effective broadcasting. The primary target population is over 500 miles away, well beyond the range of FM and TV transmission and distant from all but the most powerful medium wave signals.

Powerful transmission emanating from Guantanamo Bay northwest could also create interference for domestic stations in the United States. The terrain around Guantanamo Bay also raises concerns. The site, a naval port, is nearly all at sea level and is ringed by hills that would make it difficult to get signals out beyond the immediate population.

Jamming is both a technical and a political problem, and it is addressed on both levels. Although there are international regulatory routes we use to protest jamming, they have not proved successful.

Cuba continues to interfere with short wave and medium wave broadcasts from the United States. The United States is a party to the 1981 Rio de Janeiro Convention on Medium Wave Broadcasting in North and South America. This international convention estab-

lishes the allocation and procedures for medium wave broadcasting in this hemisphere. Our broadcasts all conform to that treaty. However, even though the government of Cuba is a signatory, they routinely, in violation of the convention, jam our signals.

In concluding, let me say Madam Chairman, the IBB is continuing to work with the Office of Cuba Broadcasting to provide technical support, and within our budget constraints to address and overcome the obstacle of jamming. I'll be happy to answer any questions at this time.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Conniff follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF BRIAN CONNIFF, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF THE INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING BUREAU, BROADCASTING BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Madam Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee, I want to thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today to discuss the mission and activities of Radio and TV Marti. You have asked that I focus my remarks on the technical obstacles to getting a clear signal into Cuba given the jamming that has been directed at Radio and TV Marti broadcasts since their inception. Before I do, let me say that the Broadcasting Board of Governors is committed to carrying out the mandate of the Radio and Television Broadcasting to Cuba Acts, and to promote democracy through the dissemination of accurate and objective information to the people of Cuba. The Office of Cuba Broadcasting has carried out this mission since May 20, 1985 when Radio Marti first went on the air, and we are committed to supporting OCB broadcasts in reaching its target audience. The Board looks forward to working with you to continue to improve the ability of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting to deliver its programming to a broader spectrum of listeners across the island.

The International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB) is the main operational entity within the BBG. It is responsible for supervising the Voice of America and the Office of Cuba Broadcasting, and for providing transmission assets and engineering services to the BBG's broadcast entities. The IBB also conducts periodic reviews of BBG programs and operations, and tries to ensure, within existing resources, that the strongest radio and TV signals possible are used to reach our audiences.

Like our broadcasts to many key parts of the world during the history of U.S. international broadcasting, transmission to Cuba has been consistently jammed by the Cuban government. We have faced similar challenges in broadcasting to the former Soviet Union in the 70s and 80s, and we face it now in China, Vietnam, and other parts of the world. The more repressive the government, the more likely we are to be jammed. But we have learned that our message gets through to sustain our listeners in spite of the jamming. We have received many messages from those who struggled to listen to our programs in spite of their government's efforts to suppress them, expressing gratitude that we continued the transmissions even though they were heavily jammed.

CURRENT TRANSMISSION ROUTES

Radio Marti broadcasts on shortwave and medium wave frequencies, and is jammed on both. The Radio Marti 1180 kHz medium wave (AM) signal, out of its Marathon, Florida transmitter, has been jammed since the service was established in 1985. The Cuban Government uses a counter broadcasting approach on medium wave, placing its own programming on the same frequency with the effect of dominating Radio Marti in the more populated urban areas. However, reception is largely unaffected in Cuba's less populated cities and most rural areas.

The IBB also transmits Radio Marti on four shortwave transmitters simultaneously throughout the day broadcasting from Greenville, North Carolina and Delano, California. These transmissions are also jammed. The effectiveness of shortwave jamming varies widely depending on the location of the listener with respect to the jammer, and sometimes the jamming changes in intensity to counter certain programs. Jamming is most effective in and around Havana. Because all of our current transmission facilities are fully utilized, we would have to displace other broadcasts to add more transmission to Cuba.

TV Marti is transmitted via UHF signal from an aerostat on Cudjoe Key, Florida. Broadcasting four and a half hours a day, the transmission system provides three different channels which can be switched so that attempts can be made to avoid the jammers. On May 20 of this year, TV Marti's broadcast schedule was changed from the early morning hours of 3:30 a.m. to 8:30 a.m., to a primetime slot of 6:00 p.m.

to 10:30 p.m. Although we don't have any official evidence that the audience has increased due to the broadcast schedule change, TV Marti has received phone calls from Cuba that indicate that people are watching in primetime. The calls, however, are primarily from outside the Havana area, suggesting there may be jamming in the capital city. We've asked the U.S. Interests Section to provide us with a report on this.

TV Marti's satellite signals are not affected by jamming, and are received clearly in Cuba and throughout the Caribbean, Central and South America. Cuban government officials and military personnel are able to view TV Marti via satellite. Although this is arguably an "elite" audience, it is a desirable target of potential opinion makers for these broadcasts. TV Marti can also be received on the Internet, is available on cable networks throughout Latin America, and is seen by visitors to the U.S. Interests Section in Havana. Given the fact that, like much of the rest of the world, Cuban audiences are turning increasingly to television as a source of news and information, TV Marti, though jammed, is well positioned to be an important instrument of U.S. foreign policy should a crisis occur on the island.

IMPROVING TRANSMISSIONS TO CUBA

Shortwave is still an effective transmission media for reaching audiences in Cuba, and there are several ways to enhance current shortwave transmission schedules. The current transmission that employs four simultaneous shortwave transmissions to Cuba throughout most of the day and night already strains the available IBB facilities. However, at certain times, a few extra transmission hours could be added during crisis or surge situations. Regularly adding more time from the IBB network would require displacing other services.

The IBB is exploring the possibility of constructing additional modest antenna facilities at the North Carolina station. These added antennas would permit the use of lower powered transmitters directed toward Cuba, achieving listenable signals during much of the day and perhaps forcing the Cuban government to expend more of its resources for jamming. The IBB could also lease additional shortwave transmission capacity from other domestic or international shortwave broadcasters. Leased shortwave transmission time would cost about \$60-150 per hour, or about \$20,000-\$50,000 per year for each additional transmitter.

Improving medium wave transmission to Cuba is more problematic. As this Committee is aware, the BBG proposed a modification of the IBB medium wave transmission facility in Belize for broadcasts to Cuba. However, the Government of Belize declined to permit this use for the station. We have received reports that some AM radio stations in South Florida can be heard at times in Cuba. Our technical analysis confirms that signals from several of these stations could reliably reach parts of Cuba, but the level of interference that these stations must contend with in Cuba from local stations or other broadcasters in the Caribbean is likely to be significant. Even if Florida stations were willing to lease broadcast time to the U.S. Government, sharing these frequencies with commercial broadcasters raises policy concerns that would have to be weighed very carefully. We have explored leasing AM broadcast time in other locations such as Grand Turk Island, Grand Cayman Island, and Bonaire, but no location has yet proved to be both technically feasible and available for lease.

We also understand that listeners in Cuba occasionally can receive FM transmissions from South Florida. Although some service is theoretically possible, Cuba falls far outside the normal predicted range of any FM signals from Florida. It could be that a few listeners on the North coast of Cuba or living on North facing hills could occasionally pick up FM stations from the U.S., but this would not be a likely or reliable situation. FM signals, if they could reach Cuba, would also be very easy to jam.

While broadcasting to Cuba from ships and aircraft outside the national territory of the United States is technologically feasible, the International Telecommunication Union's radio regulations, adopted by the United States, specifically prohibits these broadcasts. In addition, broadcasting from ship or aircraft is very expensive and could provoke a military response.

We have been asked about the technical feasibility of broadcasting from the U.S. Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba. The geography of Guantanamo Bay poses many practical problems for effective broadcasting. The primary target population of Havana is over 500 miles away, well beyond the range of FM or TV transmissions and distant for all but the most powerful medium wave signals. Powerful transmissions directed toward Havana in the Northwest could create interference for domestic stations in the U.S. The terrain around Guantanamo also raises concerns. The site, a naval port, is nearly all at sea level and ringed by hills that would tend

to block radio signals in most directions even to small populations nearby. This technical assessment of broadcasting from Guantanamo does not consider the profound regulatory and political concerns of attempting to broadcast from a leased facility without the permission of the sovereign country.

The TV Marti signal is currently focused on the Havana area. It would be possible to redirect the target of this beam to another part of the island of Cuba and avoid the jamming, at least for some amount of time until the Cuban government responded. It is also conceivable that the target of the beam could be shifted from day to day in an effort to overcome the jamming or at least to provoke a greater investment in the jamming response. Of course, shifting the beam around frequently might also frustrate potential viewers in the audience and would deprive the large target population in and near Havana of any chance to view the programs much of the time.

REGULATORY ENVIRONMENT

Jamming is both a technical and political problem, and it can be addressed on both levels. Although there are international regulatory routes we can use to protest jamming, these have not proved successful. The United States and Cuba are both members of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), an international organization within the United Nations System where governments and the private sector coordinate global telecommunication networks and services. Both nations have signed the most recent convention on international communications, which has established the current version of the international radio regulations. Nonetheless, Cuba continues to interfere with legitimate shortwave broadcasts from the United States. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) has used sophisticated radio monitoring techniques to pinpoint the source of this harmful interference to Cuba. On a monthly basis, the U.S. submits formal reports of instances of harmful interference, verified by the FCC, to the ITU and to the Government of Cuba. Cuba does not respond to these reports. It is interesting to note that in other areas of overlapping radio operations, such as aircraft and maritime communications, there is routine dialogue and cooperation between the two countries and a generally workable relationship in these important areas of commerce and public safety.

The United States is also party to the 1981 Rio de Janeiro Convention on Medium Wave Broadcasting in North and South America. This international treaty established the allocations and procedures for medium wave broadcasting in this hemisphere. The IBB medium wave transmitting station at Marathon, Florida, that carries the Radio Marti program to Cuba, operates in accordance with this international treaty. Nonetheless, the Government of Cuba routinely jams the signals of Radio Marti from this station.

AUDIENCE RESEARCH

One of the functions of the IBB is to assess our listenership around the world. This is an especially difficult task in countries where it is illegal to tune into our broadcasts. IBB audience research activities around the world are performed almost exclusively on a contract basis. These contracts are often undertaken in tandem with other international radio broadcasters, such as the BBC or Radio France International.

Cuba is a difficult environment in which to take a survey, given the reluctance of many Cubans to openly discuss their listening habits. The most recent audience data from Cuba comes from surveys conducted by a European market research firm in September 2000 and August 2001. For logistical reasons, these surveys were conducted only in major Cuban cities, and thus are not necessarily nationally representative. In each study, the firm surveyed over 2,000 people 15 years of age or older.

The survey results indicate weekly listenership to Radio Marti of 9% and 5% in 2000 and 2001, respectively. Most foreign stations in Cuba have lost some regular listeners since the 2000 survey. In general, daily radio use of any kind in Cuba has declined by a third between 1998 and 2001, with television use increasing. However, Radio Marti remains the most listened-to foreign station among respondents, with more than four times the regular audience of its nearest competitors—the BBC, Spain's Radio Exterior, Radio France International, and the Cuban-American National Foundation's Voz de la Fundacion.

We also have access to other surveys, not commissioned by the IBB, that provide anecdotal information about Radio Marti listenership. The first survey was done by the U.S. Interests Section in Havana. The Interests Section periodically questions visitors about their listening habits to Radio Marti. A survey of 29 human rights activists, independent journalists and librarians who visited the Interests Section

elicited a high positive response. Nearly all of those polled reported that they listened to Radio Marti. This survey, though narrow in scope, indicates that individuals in the dissident community continue to rely on Radio Marti as a source of news and information. However, it is not necessarily indicative of the listening habits of the general population in Cuba.

A second survey of 1,000 persons by the Associated Independent Journalists Foundation (FPIA) reports that 92 % of Cubans listen to Radio Marti sometime during the day. Although these survey results were forwarded to the Office of Cuba Broadcasting by the U.S. Interests Section, they were not endorsed by the Interests Section as a professional survey. The survey methodology has been seen to be problematic in that some of the journalists that conducted the survey may have known some of the survey respondents.

The BBG plans to purchase data on Cuban listenership in August 2002 from the same market research firm that conducted the 2000 and 2001 surveys. The BBG makes every effort to collect this survey data on an annual basis.

Madam Chairman, let me conclude by saying that the IBB will continue to work with the Office of Cuba Broadcasting to provide technical support, and assist OCB in providing programming that advances broad U.S. foreign policy goals while fulfilling the mandate of the VOA Charter. I will be glad to answer any questions you may have.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much. Dr. Salvador Lew?

STATEMENT OF SALVADOR LEW, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF CUBA BROADCASTING, BROADCASTING BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Mr. LEW. Madam Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee, I'm Salvador Lew, Director of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting, which oversees the operation of Radio and TV Marti. I am delighted to appear before you today to speak about the important mission and activities of Radio and TV Marti.

I will just make a few remarks and submit my full statement for the record. I am also submitting, for the record, the transcript of a few calls from Cuba that are watching TV Marti after May 20th when we changed the broadcast time.

I also want to tell you that Radio and TV Marti is going to be seen in the internet that is going to start in two or 3 days.

Radio and TV Marti are dedicated to providing a reliable source of news and information that is accurate and objective and to the promotion of freedom and democracy in Cuba and the promotion of human rights.

The primary areas of coverage include the Cuban economy, news related to independent human rights and dissident movements, U.S.-Cuba relations and international stories of interest, such as elections around the world. Programming is focused on the promotion of civil society and democratic institutions in Cuba and the promotion of freedom of the press.

I want you to know that in addition to the seven employees in Radio and TV Marti that are blacks, we are broadcasting for the last three or 4 months a program especially directed to the Cuban Black population that is the majority of the Cuban population—maybe that will satisfied Mr. Delahunt.

I had the pleasure, by the way, to talk for more than 2 hours with Mr. Delahunt and with Mr. Flake and also they were accompanied by Philip Peters of the Lexington Institute, who is going to testify today, in my office. I guess we talked around two or 3 hours, and I am wanting to repeat the time and give them all the information they want because I appreciate any help from anybody.

I just told Dr. Alfredo Duran that is a witness in this hearing that I would like to meet with him to discuss his ideas. In the last

hearing that I attended, I invited Congressman Reynold to appear on Radio Marti. He said it on the stage when we start Radio Marti are open for all types of opinions. That has been the line of my life always, and I don't intend to change.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Lew follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SALVADOR LEW, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF CUBA
BROADCASTING, BROADCASTING BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Madam Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee, I'm Salvador Lew, Director of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting, which oversees the operations of Radio and TV Marti. I am delighted to appear before you today to speak about the important mission and activities of Radio and TV Marti.

Radio and TV Marti are dedicated to providing a reliable source of news and information that is accurate and objective, and to the promotion of freedom and democracy in Cuba, with a programmatic strategy based on the promotion of human rights. Primary areas of coverage include the Cuban economy, news relating to the independent human rights and dissident movement, U.S.-Cuban relations, and international stories of interest such as elections around the world. Programming is focused on the promotion of civil society and democratic institutions in Cuba and the promotion of freedom of the press.

I will first provide a brief overview of Radio Marti:

RADIO MARTI

Seven days a week, 24 hours a day, Radio Marti broadcasts news, information, and entertainment programming, specially tailored for the Cuban audience. Newscasts, as well as news features and updates, figure prominently in the daily schedule, with special consideration given to events involving Cuba. In addition, a wide variety of programs address informational needs and audience preferences, including public affairs, culture, music, and general entertainment.

RADIO MARTI NEWS

Radio Marti continues to provide balanced and relevant news and information for its target audience.

With the historical turn of events that brought terrorism to American soil on September 11, Radio Marti confronted new challenges. Under the new circumstances, innovative and urgent changes were necessary.

One of the major changes we implemented after 9/11, was the redesign and expansion of our newscasts and bulletins, updated to the new era of information and communications. The total amount of news programming per day was doubled, from two and a half hours per day, to five hours per day. The thirty-minute newscasts were extended to sixty minutes, with up to two hours of continuous news coverage in the early morning. News bulletins were also extended to provide news and information for up to nineteen hours, from 5:00 a.m. till midnight.

Additionally, news programs were designed to examine and discuss the daily events in an analytical format. The news department has also introduced innovative and special segments within its newscasts, providing the opportunity to internal opposition in Cuba to express and discuss their points of view on the issues that impact their lives in their homeland. At the same time, independent Cuban journalists who act as stringers for Radio Marti, now have a better opportunity to broadcast their reports, as more airtime has been created for them.

Altogether, with the implementation of new operational and procedural guidelines, Radio Marti is able to provide more effective and timely coverage of news events from Cuba and around the world, to better serve our target audience.

RADIO MARTI PROGRAMS

Radio Marti broadcasts a selection of balanced information, entertainment and music programming to meet our broadcast mandate and the needs, preferences and interests of our Cuban audience. The current strategy to implement our mandate is to produce credible and relevant radio programs as well as providing a most needed escape from daily life under Castro, and to appeal to as many listeners as possible, most especially to the Cuban youth.

Starting on January 6, 2002, Radio Marti added six new in-house shows and 10 contracted shows. One of these programs, *ACHE* stresses the importance and understanding of certain faiths and beliefs, such as the Afro-Cuban religion, and also emphasizes racial equality in the island. A most relevant show, *EN MARCHA*, with

commentaries, news, and special interviews, focuses on the Cuban military, and stresses the need for a nation's armed forces to play a role in the preservation of civil society and democracy.

Radio Marti programming continues to provide programming on developing a market economy, protecting human rights, and the development of a democratic society. Radio Marti currently broadcasts approximately 60 different shows per week, with additional programs in the development stages.

TV MARTI

TV Marti broadcasts seven days a week, four and one-half hours per day from a highly complex, integrated transmission system specially designed for the unique mission of delivering uncensored news and information across 90 miles of open ocean into Cuba. On Monday, May 20, 2002, TV Marti implemented its new primetime broadcast schedule, going on the air from 6:00 PM to 10:30 PM., substantially increasing potential audience size.

The change to prime time brought an immediate response from viewers in Cuba who called the station to express excitement and gratitude at being able to receive and watch TV Marti. One of those who called, Diosdado Gonzalez Marrero of Perico, Matanzas, Cuba said he tuned in to TV Marti on May 20 after hearing an announcement on Radio Marti. He said he watched Mesa Redonda with host Julio Estorino and guests Janisset Rivero and Angel de Fana and he described the rooster that decorates the table on the set of the show. He named the areas of Colon, Jovallanos as two other places where he knew TV Marti was being watched. He said he hopes TV Marti will increase the strength of the signal to reach farther, and extend the broadcast schedule because, and I quote, ". . . listening to the radio is just not the same as seeing images."

TV Marti features quality programming produced in-house by the news and programs departments, as well as some acquired programs. The programming includes comprehensive daily news and information, special programs on topics of major importance, sports, entertainment and features on life in the United States and other democratic nations. Most recently, TV Marti produced a three-part documentary on the political crisis in Venezuela, and a six-hour special program on the history of Cuba is currently in production. Recent news coverage has included in-depth reporting on the War on Terrorism, the crisis in the Middle East, President Carter's historic visit to Cuba and his speech to the Cuban people, the "Varela Project" introduced by dissidents in Cuba, and presidential elections in France, Colombia, Peru, and Costa Rica.

TV Marti programs also provide commentary, analysis and up-to-date information about events in Cuba and around the world, promoting the cause of democracy and freedom in Cuba. Topics of discussion include current affairs, economics, public affairs, health issues, culture, music, and entertainment. Guest have included noted journalist Carlos Alberto Montaner, Frank Calzon of the Center for a Free Cuba, leading economic expert Mr. Salazar Carrillo, and Luis Ortiz Monasterios Castellanos, Mexican Consul General in Miami, to name just a few. TV Marti programming is specifically tailored to meet current Cuban tastes and informational requirements in a format that is culturally and aesthetically familiar.

United States policy toward Cuba is to rapidly promote a peaceful transition to a stable, democratic form of government and respect for human rights. We know from experience that a serious crisis in Cuba could provoke an influx of refugees of enormous proportions. Just as Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty demonstrated the power of their influence during the demise of communism in the Eastern Bloc countries, TV Marti's protagonist role during and after a transition in Cuba is vital. Having the ability to instantaneously react to events in Cuba, and enabling TV Marti to provide images to the people of Cuba when political circumstances change on the island is invaluable. Not only is it in the best interest of the Cuban people, but it will also serve the national security interests of the United States.

Reaching out past the Cuban Government and directly to the Cuban people voicing America's support for freedom and democracy in Cuba is the key objective of Radio and TV Marti. As we continue to work on methods to counter the Cuban jamming, Cuban citizens anywhere in the world with access to the Internet can visit the TV Marti web site 24 hours a day to watch the daily programming. It should be noted that according to the CIA World Fact Book 2001, available on the CIA web site, there were 60,000 Internet users in Cuba in the year 2000. In addition, according to information compiled by IBB Affiliate Relations, TV Marti is "downlinked" from its satellite relay and rebroadcast on 176 cable systems throughout Latin America, in more than 14 countries. TV Marti serves as a powerful vehicle for U.S. public diplomacy throughout Latin America and the world, and can be an important

component in the Administration's efforts to build understanding and support for its Cuba policy goals. TV Marti broadcasts serve as a major outreach to opinion leaders in Cuba and throughout Latin America, simply by pursuing these broadcast opportunities.

In closing, I would like to quote President Bush who stated on May 20, 2002, that the administration will "continue to look for ways to modernize Radio and TV Marti, because even the strongest walls of oppression cannot stand when the floodgates of information and knowledge are opened."

I wish to thank you for the opportunity to appear before the subcommittee, and I will be glad to answer any questions you may have.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much, Dr. Lew.

Now I would like to recognize Congressman Chris Smith to make his opening statement, and also ask him to begin his questioning because I know he has to go to another hearing. Thank you very much, Mr. Smith.

Ms. SMITH. Thank you very much, Madam Chairwoman, and I apologize for missing some of the testimony.

As you know, yesterday the State Department released its trafficking report and especially, Adolfo and Dan, who worked with us on this in the past, and many Members of the House and Senate, I have had one meeting after another in follow-up to that today. That's where I was, and I apologize for that.

Just a couple of things, first of all, I've been in Congress for 22 years, Madam Chairwoman, and it gives me at least some insight into freedom broadcasting. I chaired the Subcommittee for 6 years and was very proud of the work that we did. It was a bi-partisan effort and we were able to beef up a number of the allocations for Radio Free Asia.

As a matter of fact, I offered the amendment on the floor to beef up to 24 hours the amount of time for Radio Free Asia. When I was working on that, one person after another said it's being jammed, why do it? They have satellites anyway.

Well, they don't have satellites except in the hotels in Beijing, and there is a tremendous amount of misinformation. Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe were absolutely crucial to the crumbling of the Berlin Wall and the crumbling of the evil Soviet empire, and it is an evil Soviet empire. Ronald Reagan was right.

The KGB and the Securitata and all of the others did horrible things to priests and religious and human rights activists, and yet, there were times; especially, in the 1980s where people said it's being jammed. It's a propaganda organ. Why are you backing this? And yet, Congress, thankfully in a bi-partisan effort; especially, at the behest of the Reagan Administration and then the Bush Administration, maintained that very strong broadcast.

You remember the old adage "The Iron Curtain isn't soundproof." The "Bamboo Curtain" isn't soundproof either. It can be defeated as has been pointed out; especially, TV Marti, through new and innovative ways of trying to get the signal into that captive nation called Cuba.

I raise all of this because it's like de ja vu all over again. It's like people forget, Madam Chair, that there are people listening. The message does get through. It has a multiplier effect. As you pointed out from your site visits or the AID folks that have gone around, the message is getting out, and hope is kept alive.

I think it's a modest expenditure of funds, frankly. This is a rounding error when it comes to the Federal budget. If we're not

spending enough to defeat it, and if we're not employing sufficiently the kinds of technologies that are there or could be there, let's put more money in it. Let's fix it rather than get rid of TV Marti or ultimately say we'll put the money into Radio Marti and somehow do a pass through.

I know Mr. Flake was very sincere in his recommendation, but let's beef them both up and do more. I know from my work on political prisoners—including Cuba—when we do something in Washington, if we take a step backward, for example, on this, the people—the dissidents, the people that you see lined up here will know it. They will be told they're abandoning you.

One of the things that keeps a political prisoner alive each and every day is the knowledge that people know of their plight, are praying for them, are working on their behalf—and if we're pulling the rug, and saying, no mas—no more TV Marti, we do a grave injustice to the dissidents. We've heard that from people—Ragin Sanks sat right here and told us, thank you for Radio Free Asia. Thank you for human rights advocacy, even though it's being jammed because some of it does get through.

The road to democracy and human rights promotion is never a straight line. It's a zig zag. It does take bobbing and weaving and counter-punching. For us to put up the white flag and say let's scrap TV Marti, I believe, would be unconscionable. We need to continue to strengthen—find means, whether it be video cassettes, using the internet, and other means to get the message through. We owe it to these people who suffer daily at the hands of a cruel dictator.

If Castro were living here, he would be a Gazi or one of these mass murderers who, not only would be in prison, would be in prison for life. He and his thugs have tortured with impunity, and this is part of the response to try to overcome, to give people hope, to get a clear message—an honest message of information because information is oxygen to people who are living in a captive nation.

I've read your testimonies. I've heard some of it, but I certainly have read all of them. I think you're doing a tremendous job. I encourage you not to be deterred. I thought the President's comments and his new initiative were outstanding. We need to redouble our efforts, not backtrack. If simple trade—I know this issue today isn't about trade, it's about freedom broadcasting, but if trade were the panacea, why is that with the Europeans trading for all these years, there has not been this amelioration in the area of human rights abuse? It has not happened. In many cases, it's actually gotten worse.

I really don't have a question. I think you folks have really answered so many of the questions. We need more money for TV Marti, not less—more money for Radio Marti, not less.

Again, the numbers we're talking about are rounding errors in the budget. If we really care about democracy, if we really are about the dissidents who suffer, and for every one person that's in prison, there are others who might be there some day if things don't change—certainly, could be there on any day of the week because of their advocacy. So I just want to encourage all of you to continue doing your work.

Some of the noise that comes out of here sometimes I think naively and unwittingly does a disservice to these dissidents. I've gone to the prisons. I'd love to go to the prisons in Cuba. Frank Wolf and I are talking about doing just that. I hope we're allowed to do so to meet with the dissidents.

When we had a hearing here when Elian Gonzalez was abducted and sent back, and to make a long story short, we had a Rev. Walker who stood there and said, you know, in Cuba Castro's Cuba is Matthew 25, and that happens to be my favorite scripture—"When I was in prison, did you visit me. When I was hungry, did you feed me"—he went on and on. He said he had visited prisoners and I said name one—just name one that you visited—a real dissident like the ones that you see here. He couldn't come up with a single name. I said we'll leave the record open for those names of the prisoners that you have visited—nothing.

These people are suffering. The gentle lady from Florida mentioned Dr. Biscet—a great Afro-Cuban, a courageous man. I've met his wife—a tremendous man. He suffers every day. We need to beef up what we do with regards to TV Marti and Radio Marti, and not nickel and dime the issue and say somehow, oh, we're saving \$10 million here. If we spent \$100 million, and just some of it got through, it would be well worth that effort.

I have met so many political prisoners in my life, I am in awe of them. I am in awe of these people that you see in front of them. Armando Valladares—have you read *Against all Hope*? His book about the tortures that go on in that country.

This is just part of a response—a prudent response to a legacy that continues, regrettably, to this day of Fidel Castro and his thugs of repression, of torture, and just a total full court press against human rights. For us to pull the plug on this would be outrageous and contemptible.

I have talked to Vaclav Havel. I have talked to people like the former President of Poland, Lech Walesa. I have met many dissidents who have said thank you that you continued Radio Liberty and Radio Free Asia all those years and beefed up the signal when they tried to jam it. Thank you for that because it became part of their lifeline and part of their hope.

Again, it would be a grievous mistake—however, well-meaning to save money this make be, a grievous mistake to any way diminish—I think the President has it right. We need to redouble our efforts. Let's defeat jamming rather than defeat the dissidents by saying, well, we'll just put a little more money in Radio Marti, which, frankly, we should do. We need to beef up the signal and all the means of overcoming jamming.

I thank you for your great work and look forward to working with you, Madam Chair, and other interested Members in doing just that. If it's money you need, let us know.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much, Mr. Smith.

I will begin the questioning. This will be directed to Mr. Conniff, Mr. Franco and Mr. Walsh. I'm going to omit the last names of two Radio and TV Marti viewers for their security. Renalfo from Santiago de la Vega in Cuba, but I'm sure the Cuban Interests Section will do their best to try round these folks up—asserts that TV Marti has been seen in Santiago de la Vega using a UHF antenna

and Adela of the pro-human rights party of Cuba says that TV Marti has been seen in a province of Matanzas and the provinces of Havana, but only by those who have a UHF antenna.

Further, Carlos reports that the TV Marti signal is being seen in Havana in the municipalities of Cotorro San Miguel del Padron, Sante Fe, Jaimanitas by those with UHF antenna, but the signal is weak.

Given that some of our pro-democracy and public democracy efforts have been successful, what can be done to ensure that more Cubans have access to, not just radios, but UHF antennas so that they can watch TV Marti in a better way?

Mr. CONNIFF. You are right. We broadcast TV Marti at this point in time exclusively with UHF, though, we have had some discussions about the technical possibility of flip-flopping back and forth between the old VHF and UHF to further confuse the jammers, and jamming, essentially, is a cat and mouse game.

In addition to that, each day we change the beam—the direction a little bit, a few degrees, making it more difficult for the Cuban jammers—we do that on a routine, ongoing basis. The other way, we had alluded to this earlier, is the expanded use of video cassettes. Maybe not using newscast, but programs on democracy and other themes along democratic values, human rights and bring those in similar to the way the short wave radios were brought in recently.

Those are the two methods. We can improve TV, keep it a guessing game with the Cuban authorities and try to get some video cassettes in.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. Mr. Franco?

Mr. FRANCO. Well, Madam Chair, this is something that we will definitely look at. We're actually not doing that at this time in terms of UHF antennas. We can explore that. I'm not a technical expert, but I understand that UHF antennas can be easily constructed with minimum material.

So one idea that we would likely explore is dissemination information on how to do this. In other words, within Cuba itself to people to construct the device—the antenna themselves and actually pick up the signal. That's my understanding of UHF.

We will certainly look at, as we have supplied short wave radios and promote that as a means to disseminate information, look at the feasibility of also using UHF antennas.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. Mr. Walsh?

Mr. WALSH. Thank you very much.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. I'm just trying to keep your answers short because we have 5 minutes and we'll go another round.

Mr. WALSH. I think the under secretary's office would be very, very supportive of a program like that if it proves out to be viable. We would work both with USAID and with the Board of Governors to ensure that this works out.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. Mr. Conniff, in a March 28, 2002 letter from BBG Chairman, Marc Nathanson, and in your testimony you had stated also, we outline that the government of Belize has declined to grant the necessary permission to BBG for the Punta Gorda to transmit Radio Marti program to Cuba.

What efforts did IBB and the State Department take to secure this site? What cooperation did we get from the government of Belize, and related to that, to you and Mr. Fisk and Mr. Walsh, what efforts are being taken to secure cooperation from other foreign governments in the Western Hemisphere for alternative transmissions sites if Belize had declined to grant that permission?

Mr. CONNIFF. We received excellent cooperation from the embassy and Department of State here in Washington. Obviously, the government of Belize said no. Our director of engineering went down and met with the prime minister personally. Unfortunately, for their own political reasons, they did say no.

We received excellent support, and we're constantly reviewing other locations throughout the Caribbean and Central America. Actually, the most promising opportunities for additional medium wave probably lie in South Florida because of the backdrop of the United States to Cuba if you broadcast from certain directions, you're going to cause interference into the United States, which causes FCC problems. The best thing to do is what we do with Marathon right now, which is broadcast into Cuba from the United States.

We have just completed a study that shows that there are a couple of stations who send a good signal into the broader Cuban area or region. We're going to pursue whether there are leasing opportunities there.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. I don't know if you wanted to add anything—any of the other gentlemen? Thank you.

Mr. Franco, AID has, at times, provided grants to BOA, for example, for broadcast to Angola that I hear was saved by Fidel Castro. Would this be something that AID would consider regarding Cuba broadcasting; particularly, as part of ESF reprogramming for public diplomacy efforts?

Mr. FRANCO. Candidly, Madam Chair, our funds are rather limited. We have supported non-governmental organizations and tried to support efforts that reached the Cuban people themselves. However, there isn't anything that would preclude us from doing that.

Our efforts have been to work with IGOs that in term provide information for transmission to Cuba. We think that's been a very linkage. With additional funding and additional support, this is certainly something we could explore.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Dr. Lew, some of the witness on the second panel have raised two incidents which occurred under your tenure as example of bias in Radio Marti's broadcast and of program deficiencies—and please, let me know when my time is over. I can ask it again.

One of the broadcast of remarks are by Mexico's foreign ministers that indicated that the doors of Mexico's Havana Embassy are open to all Cubans. Were those broadcasts inflammatory, and did you not release tapes and transcripts of these, proving that Radio Marti provided accurate reporting of Mexican Foreign Minister Castaneda's remarks; although, neglected by the testimony of some of the witnesses on the second panel, did Radio Marti also broadcasts reports about how the hundreds of Cubans were arrested for seeking political asylum at the Mexican Embassy.

Also, I wanted to ask you about President Carter's speech. I'll have the answer in my second round of questioning. I apologize, Dr. Lew, but I'm going to be very firm on the time for everyone. I have 30 seconds left. Would you please elaborate on the reasons why it was not carried live by Radio Marti and the extent of the coverage given to other—to the former President's visit and speech. We will address those two issues in our second round. I will keep a very strict guideline of the 5-minute mark.

I would now like to recognize Congresswoman McKinney. If we could start the clock, please.

Mr. LEW. About the Mexico——

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. In my next round, I'm sorry. My time is over. So the question and the answer will be covered in 5 minutes, thank you.

Ms. MCKINNEY. I hope the Chairwoman has just now started the clock.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. As soon as you start your question.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Thank you very much. I guess I don't have many questions, but I do have a few. Dr. Lew, if Blacks constitute the majority of Cubans, why is there only one show directed for them?

Mr. LEW. We are now having a lot of former military Blacks of Castro's army in your military show that we didn't have before. We are improving TV and we are revamping everything; especially, to have a co-anchor that is Black. I am sure that when we meet again you will be absolutely pleased because one of the things that I firmly believe is the majority of the population of Cuba deserves more attention.

Ms. MCKINNEY. So currently there are one or two shows directed at Blacks?

Mr. LEW. But there are several Blacks that are frequently in the news.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Okay, but obviously, there is a lot of work that needs to be done to improve on where you are now.

My next question is about President Carter's speech. I understand that it wasn't broadcasted on Radio Marti. Who made that decision?

Mr. LEW. Let me explain. Mr. Carter——

Ms. MCKINNEY. I don't have much time since the Chairwoman is being very careful on the time.

Mr. LEW. Mr. Carter's speech was broadcasted two times in its entirety. We had a live——

Ms. MCKINNEY. At what times?

Mr. LEW. The following day. The day of his speech we had a live discussion about what he say. We could not rebroadcast Havana Radio because we don't know what Havana Radio was going to do, and would be risky and completely out of legal proceedings. But the following day, we broadcasted, twice, the very good speech of——

Ms. MCKINNEY. During what times of the day?

Mr. LEW. Pardon me?

Ms. MCKINNEY. During what times of the day?

Mr. LEW. Prime time.

Ms. MCKINNEY. What's prime time?

Mr. LEW. I guess was at mid-day. That is a very good time, and one was very early.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Okay, thank you. Is it true that a quality control board rejected your staffing decisions and your response was to dismiss the quality control board?

Mr. LEW. Quality control board? We did not have a quality control board. We had a group of advisors. We still have a group of advisors. In addition to that, we have solved, or in the process of solving, two or three small problems that we have.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Okay, thank you. Mr. Fisk and Mr. Franco, could you update me on what the Bush Administration, and you; in particular, are doing to address the issues confronting Afro-Latinos?

Mr. FISK. Ms. McKinney, in some cases I think it's better to defer to AID in terms of the specific programs. We are concerned about the human rights treatments of all citizens in the hemisphere.

Ms. MCKINNEY. What have you done?

Mr. FISK. What have I done?

Ms. MCKINNEY. Yes.

Mr. FISK. Since I've been on the job, ma'am, I will tell you I have not been—

Ms. MCKINNEY. You have not done anything.

Mr. FISK. I have not done anything at this point. I am in my 7th week. If there is something specifically that you would like me to do or take back, I am more than happy to do so because I would see that as totally consistent with the President's policy, with U.S. statutes and the values we stand for.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Okay, we will call you for a meeting. How about you, Mr. Franco?

Mr. FRANCO. Yes, Ms. McKinney, our program, as I testified, is directed, I believe, to everyone in Cuba, irrespective of race. We're talking about political freedom, human rights, worker's rights.

Ms. MCKINNEY. My question was a bit broader with respect to Afro-Latinos.

Mr. FRANCO. Throughout the hemisphere?

Ms. MCKINNEY. Yes.

Mr. FRANCO. Yes, absolutely. I'd be happy to supply you—I'm prepared today really to testify directly on Cuba, which is a unique program, as you can appreciate with respect to AID. But I would be very happy to supply your office with what we are working with Afro-Latinos in Central America, in the Eastern Caribbean, in Jamaica, in Haiti, in the Dominion Republic, in Colombia, with specific groups that advance the special situation of Afro-Latinos throughout the region. I'd be very happy to supply you with that. We have a very good program. I'm very proud of it.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Consider the request made, and you can just go ahead and forward the information directly to me.

Mr. FRANCO. It would be my pleasure to do so.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Great. Thank you. Madam Chair, the remaining time?

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. You have 2 seconds.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Okay, thank you.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Flake?

Mr. FLAKE. Thank you, Madam Chair. Thank the witnesses for their testimony. Mr. Lew, just to know where I stand, in a recent article in Spanish you wrote that the criticism of Radio Marti

comes from disgruntled employees and from Fidel Castro, his spokesmen and sympathizers. Am I included in any of those groups because I've criticized Radio Marti?

Mr. LEW. Let me tell you the critics of Radio Marti started in Cuba, not in Miami. It was published two surveys done by independent reporters that I got through the Interests Section. When they show our increase in audience, started the critics of Radio Marti.

Mr. FLAKE. So the critics have come since there has been an increase. On what basis do we know that there is an increase?

Mr. LEW. Of the surveys that I have showed the Cuban government and they know about that.

Mr. FLAKE. I thought we were told that surveys were not reliable.

Mr. LEW. Congressman Flake, just 1 second.

Mr. FLAKE. Excuse me.

Mr. LEW. I gave you 3 hours. One of the things that show you how Radio and TV Marti are effecting the Cuban government is that two, three times a week a show that have on Cuban television called La Mesa Reyunga, they criticize sharply Radio and TV Marti and myself. You know that the government doesn't do that unless it's helped.

Mr. FLAKE. Understood that I'm not included in that group?

Mr. LEW. Okay, we are living in a democratic country.

Mr. FLAKE. All right, good. That's good to know.

Mr. LEW. Thank you.

Mr. FLAKE. Another question, on the Carter speech, are you saying that you did not have access to the speech to deliver it live, is that what you're saying?

Mr. LEW. No, because we don't have a correspondent in Havana. In addition to that, we are under the impression that we cannot rebroadcast any other radio station, and was risky to rebroadcast the speech from any person, not from President Carter, for whom I have a lot of respect, without permission. We could not ask permission to the Cuban government, but we broadcasted it twice—his speech—the following day.

Mr. FLAKE. Since we are in the habit of asking the Cuban government for permission for anything. If we asked permission if we could broadcast, they would certainly say no. Could not we have gotten some kind of—

Mr. LEW. In the next situation I will send you as a special representative of Radio Marti and you get the permission.

Mr. FLAKE. So we could not have gotten permission or done it without permission.

Mr. LEW. You don't ask permission from the Cuban government. They will not give it. If they would let us broadcast anything from the Cuban radio, they would be mentioning that for 6 months saying that we are stealing the Cuban information.

Mr. FLAKE. That has never stopped it nor should it stop us. We should never ask their permission for anything. We shouldn't have to. We don't to broadcast or otherwise they wouldn't jam it.

Mr. LEW. No, we broadcast everything, including statements made by Fidel Castro. We are very objective.

Mr. FLAKE. It's just for the record, I find it just incredible to believe that one of the most significant speeches given in Cuba in decades was not carried live. It's by a former U.S. President and was not carried live on Radio Marti.

Mr. LEW. I agree with you. I guess the speech was very good.

Mr. FLAKE. So in hindsight you would have broadcast it live.

Mr. LEW. No, live, we cannot do it. We cannot rebroadcast on Cuban radio. But we broadcasted it not once, but twice; and the same day of the speech we had an analysis of a group of people about the speech. It included both sides. Also, we broadcasted excerpts like it was done by the Voice of America.

Mr. FLAKE. Thank you. Mr. Fisk and Mr. Franco, how many—anybody can answer this—televisions are there in Cuba in estimate? Do we know?

Mr. FISK. I don't have an answer for you, but we can get you the best estimate we have from our U.S. Interests Section.

Mr. FLAKE. You don't have any estimate out there?

Mr. FISK. I am not aware there is even an estimate.

[The information referred to follows:]

ANSWER FROM DANIEL W. FISK, SUBMITTED AFTER THE HEARING, TO QUESTION POSED BY THE HONORABLE JEFF FLAKE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ARIZONA

ANSWER: After consultation with the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, the best estimate publicly available is that provided in the *CIA Factbook for 2001*. According to this reference work, there were an estimated 2.64 million television sets in Cuba in 1997, the most recent year for which statistics are available.

Mr. FLAKE. Okay. How many internet hookups are there? How many computers in use for internet?

Mr. FRANCO. We don't know specifically.

Mr. FLAKE. Our own CIA has estimated about 60,000, is that accurate?

Mr. FISK. This is my colleague, Mr. Walsh, yes.

Mr. WALSH. The last figure I heard was 60,000 to 100,000. I think I heard that from Mr. Lew. So I think he might want to comment on it.

Mr. FLAKE. Isn't that strange that we have no estimate and we're spending \$10 million a year trying to broadcast and we have no estimate about how many televisions or internet hookups.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Flake. You can continue with that very good line of questioning. Mr. Franco, he will continue with that line of questioning. I'm trying to be fair to everyone, so thank you. Mr. Delahunt?

Mr. DELAHUNT. Yes, I want to extend my gratitude to Mr. Lew for his hospitality. We enjoyed that stay. Also, let me say that with all you've heard here today about whether the audience for Radio Marti has been declining, you—

Mr. LEW. I don't agree with that statement.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Well, until you took over, you would agree with the statement that the listenership has slipped and the audience was declining for a long period of time. Is that a fair statement?

Mr. LEW. I don't know. It's difficult.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Let me just refresh your memory then because back in July in the *Miami Herald*—and this is a quote that was attributed to you, not that I believe everything that I read in the

newspaper and again, I'm quoting from you—that you acknowledge that the listenership has slipped dramatically and it has been deteriorating for a long period of time. Does that refresh your memory?

Mr. LEW. No, I agree with that.

Mr. DELAHUNT. You agree with that.

Mr. LEW. Yes.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Well, thank you because I wanted to praise your honesty and your forthrightness so that all of my colleagues can hear that for a long period of time there has been a decline in the listenership of Radio Marti.

Mr. LEW. True.

Mr. DELAHUNT. That's what this hearing should be about. How do we address that? Thank you, I don't have all that much time. There was a report, again, and let me just be very clear. After we left that meeting with you, several days later there were two stories that were highly critical of Radio Marti and yourself. I do not accept that because I have not heard your side of the story, but in the Miami New Times you stated that some of the critics from within Radio Marti were Castro's agents because of the methodology with which they were criticizing you.

Now is that a fair statement or do you want to reject that right now?

Mr. LEW. The report of New Times was completely distortion.

Mr. DELAHUNT. It was complete distortion.

Mr. LEW. It was a lot of things that I did not say.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Okay. We don't have to be concerned about Cuban agents penetrating into the Marti operations, is that a fair statement.

Mr. LEW. No, I guess—this is just a guess—I don't have any proof—that there must be Cuban agents in the Marti because Castro has infiltrated it.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Well, if you're guessing, I would suggest that you have an obligation, Dr. Lew, to contact the FBI and commence immediately an investigation.

Mr. LEW. I contacted the security department of IBB.

Mr. DELAHUNT. IBB. Do we have any report back—

Mr. LEW. The FBI is working.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Do we have any report back?

Mr. CONNIFF. Well, we have reports back. I don't think I should share them in an open session, but we have a very active office of security that visits the Office of Cuba Broadcasting frequently. We have contacts with the FBI.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Okay, so it's fair to say that there is an ongoing investigation.

Mr. CONNIFF. It always has been since the day it opened. It's obviously a target of infiltration on the part of the Castro government. We've always seen it that way.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Okay, fine. Then that allays my fears that action had not been taken. Again, and I'm quoting, Dr. Lew, from media reports. I just simply want your response. I'm not suggesting that they are accurate or that they are true.

Mr. LEW. You can ask whatever you feel you want to ask.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Thank you for conferring that freedom on me.

Mr. LEW. You're a congressman. Besides that, I believe you are my friend.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I am your friend, Dr. Lew. Believe me, I am. Again, I'm quoting from a *Miami Herald* story—

“Another issue causing controversy is that many of the new freelancers come from the ranks of the hard-line community. The operation has been taken over by the ultra-hardline exile community,”

said one woman who has worked at Radio Marti for more than 10 years.

“We can't broadcast any news that presents a good image of Cuba or hints at anything good that can happen there.”

Is that a fair statement? Obviously, this individual did not disclose this to me.

Mr. LEW. I disagree with that. Some of the people that came in are very liberal and belong to the Castro government. And you could not belong to a government like—

Mr. DELAHUNT. Are you suggesting that maybe this 10-year employee—this female maybe an agent for the Cuban government?

Mr. LEW. No, I am suggesting anything. I'm just telling you that a lot of people that work in Radio Marti are more liberal than Castro that has oppressed everybody starting with the Blacks.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I'm just confused and really I want to be clear about this because I think it is important. Are you suggesting that there are employees that are working at Radio Marti that are more liberal than Fidel Castro?

Mr. LEW. Fidel Castro is not liberal. He is a communist.

Mr. DELAHUNT. He's a communist. I understand that.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. Mr. Delahunt, you're 1 minute and 10 seconds over, but we will continue.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I thank the gentle lady for her generosity.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. I'd like to recognize Mr. Menendez for his line of questioning before we break and take a short recess for votes. Mr. Menendez.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Thank you, Madam Chairlady.

Let me ask any of the panelists who can answer this question, do we know how much the Castro regime spends in jamming transmissions of Radio and TV Marti?

Mr. LEW. We don't know exactly.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Do you have an estimate of how much—

Mr. LEW. He's having trouble with that—

Mr. MENENDEZ. Can we quantify that in a dollar amount?

Mr. CONNIFF. The general principle in jamming is you need to broadcast at a higher decibel rate than the broadcast itself. So this places a considerable strain on the jammer. We spend approximately \$2 million on radio transmissions for short wave and medium wave. So if you doubled that, that would probably be a fair approximation. They have electrical problems and this further stresses—they have outages constantly. We think it is a good instrument to force them to spend scarce resources.

Mr. MENENDEZ. They also make a policy decision to spend 2 to \$4 million instead of putting more food on the plates of Cuban families, is that correct?

Mr. CONNIFF. That's right.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Let me ask Mr. Franco. I read your statement. It's very nice. But since this Administration has taken office, I have not had a sense of where the section 109 Program is going. Would you give a detailed list of all of your section 109 grantees. In fact, what the specific missions are so that we can review them.

Mr. FRANCO. I'd be happy to, Mr. Menendez. We have an active program. Since I've assumed this position earlier this year, we're conducting a review with a view to reach more people on the island itself. I'd be happy to send you a complete list of our active grants.

Mr. MENENDEZ. I would appreciate that. I just want to compliment David Mutchler of your staff, who has been probably the strongest advocate and supporter and doing a good job on this, generally; but in the last year and a half, I haven't had any sense of it. As the author of this provision, I would like to know what is going on.

Mr. FRANCO. I thank you for that, and I just want to echo for the record my same high opinion and estimation of Mr. Mutchler.

Mr. MENENDEZ. I would like to ask any of the witnesses—maybe Mr. Fisk can help me here. If Cuba can spend so much money, not only jamming, but spies here in the United States which penetrated South Comm and has penetrated the Defense Intelligence Agency at its highest level of analysts, could you tell me whether we have any information about their efforts to penetrate our broadcasting capabilities?

Mr. FISK. I do not have any specific information beyond what Mr. Conniff referenced regarding the security program.

Mr. MENENDEZ. You did say that you have information, but you just don't want to share it in an open forum?

Mr. CONNIFF. Our information is focused exclusively on Radio Marti and TV Marti employees. We do a background check before they come, and then, when there is any suspicions of problems, we conduct investigations and we coordinate with the FBI.

Mr. MENENDEZ. In the process of the guilty pleas and the testimony that was elicited from Cuban spies, do we know of any information of their efforts to try to pursue Cuba Broadcasting?

Mr. FISK. Based on the information I've seen out of the trials, I don't recall any.

Mr. CONNIFF. Yes, that's my understanding, too. We always operate under the presumption somebody's trying to penetrate.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Okay. Considering they did at the Defense Intelligence Agency, I'm not surprised.

Let me ask the New Broadcasting—first of all, Dr. Lew, if I understood your answer to Congressman Flake, you ultimately did carry President Carter's speech, but not at the moment he gave it because you were concerned about the regime—the only transmission coming out of Cuba would have been the regime's transmission.

Mr. LEW. The only one.

Mr. MENENDEZ. All right. So you did subsequently carry the President's speech in it's totality?

Mr. LEW. Yes, two times.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Okay, because it sounded like you did not. All right. Two times you carried it in its totality, all right.

Now with reference to this change, Mr. Conniff, prime time slot, but we're using the same transmission process? I herald that you're doing a prime time spot. I think that's excellent, but we're using the same transmission process.

Mr. CONNIFF. That's correct.

Mr. MENENDEZ. I listened to your testimony and I tried to reread through the relevant sections. What is this Administration concretely doing about ensuring that we get greater penetration in the transmission, not withstanding jamming?

Mr. CONNIFF. Well, most of our efforts, because of the laws of physics, are concentrated on radio. Our options on TV are very limited because of the location of the Cudjoe Key facility. The beam is very narrow and it's fixed within a few degrees. We can't move things around the way we do with radio. We can't go to other transmitters. We are somewhat locked. So our ability to overcome jamming is much less on TV than it is on radio.

What we are pursuing is we have recently installed the ability to remotely change the channel while the aerostat is up. That way we can force the jammers to have to figure out which frequency or which channel we're going to be on today. We have three channels we could remotely change during the day.

Also, the other possibility we're recently discussing is the ability to change from UHF to VHF. It's a different tool that the jammers would need. So it would further complicate their ability to follow us around. Those are basically the options that are at our disposal to defeat TV jamming.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Thank you, Madam Chairman.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much. The Subcommittee will be in brief recess. We have two votes, and we will be back for a second round of questions.

[Recess.]

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. The Subcommittee will once again begin deliberations. I know that a few of our panelists have to catch flights and go to different meetings. We apologize for the votes. As I always say, it's wonderful in this Subcommittee to be interrupted by democracy. We hope that our friends from the Cuban Interests Section do report to the dictator saying that the hearings were postponed because we have a democracy in the United States of America.

I know you report to him because if not, you won't have the wonderful opportunity to live in the United States. I'm sure that you and your family love living here far more than you would like living in Cuba. So, please, welcome, enjoy the life here. We love to be interrupted by a democracy. We hope that 1 day soon the people of Cuba will have that same interruption.

I know you're enjoying all the amenities of the United States. We wish that 1 day the Cuban people will have those wonderful amenities as well.

Dr. Lew, some of the witnesses on the second panel, as I had asked you, had raised an incident which occurred under your tenure as an example of bias of Radio Marti broadcast.

One of the remarks, and I'll just rephrase my question that I had asked you because I want you to revisit this issue. Remarks by Mexico's foreign minister that indicated that the doors of Mexico's Havana Embassy are open to all Cubans. Were these broadcasts inflammatory? Did you not release tapes and transcripts of those statements, proving that Radio Marti provided accurate reporting of the statements made by the Mexico foreign minister.

Although neglected by the testimony of some of the witnesses on the second panel, did Radio Marti also broadcast a report of how the hundreds of Cubans were arrested for seeking political asylum at the Mexican Embassy? If you could refer to that question, please.

Mr. LEW. We broadcasted that information very objectively like usually we do. The Global Herald printed the same information—the same words in an article that was written by a reporter Luiz Ferjea. I think he left the meeting for a few minutes, but he's here. You can ask him—actually the same words and we didn't broadcast it in the voice of the foreign minister of Mexico. So we didn't pad anything. We just broadcasted his statement recorded.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. In regard to this silly question about the issue that has been brought up about the reluctance or the denial of President Carter's remarkable speech to the Cuban people to not be broadcast simultaneously by Radio Marti, I would just like to enter into the record your memo to Mr. Conniff regarding why that was not done.

I know that you wanted to do it. You would have been more pleased than to do it. What a totally bogus argument has been brought up. I will quote from it,

“According to regulations, we are not authorized to broadcast any radio or television station's signal without permission. Obviously, the Cuban government would never give us—meaning Radio and TV Marti—such authorization.”

You go on to say:

“I trust you will agree that it would have been patently irresponsible to risk placing the Marti at the center of an international copyright dispute; especially, at a time when the Cuban government has wasted no opportunity to assail and undermine Radio and TV Marti,”

and I will be glad to continue with this line of questioning about why you refused to carry it live. Once again, we will cite U.S. regulations saying you are prohibited from doing so, but if Fidel Castro wants to give Radio and TV Marti the right to do that, I'm sure that you would have loved to have carried it live.

I'm sorry that Ms. McKinney is not here because I wanted to congratulate you, Dr. Salvador Lew, because under your tenure, and you just got appointed a little bit ago, for the very first time you do have a show directed at and broadcast by Afro-Cubans.

Unlike Ms. McKinney who is shocked that there is one such show, I am shocked that under the 8 years of the Clinton Administration no such show existed. So I congratulate you that in your short tenure you have seen fit to understand the audience of Radio and TV Marti, have patterned a show directly tied to that audience

and that you are going to further expand such programming and any references also made to the number of African-American employees or whatever racial or ethnic category is now in place in Radio and TV Marti.

Although, it would be too difficult for your staff to compile those statistics, I would like to have a frame of reference during the 8 years of the Clinton Administration. I would like to have a set of figures to see how many African-Americans or any other nationality were hired and obviously, President Clinton had the right, as President Bush had, to name the broadcast chief.

I am not saying that one record was better than the other, but I congratulate you for taking this forward step, and I would like to keep it in a frame of reference. Let's compare now to the previous 8 years of the Clinton Administration. You do not need to make any statement.

Mr. LEW. I would like to say something very briefly. No. 1, in the high echelon of the Castro government our latest Black members are in Radio and TV Marti. I can assure that.

Second, that when I practiced law in Cuba, I had two partners. One was the young guy that was the first secretary of education with Castro at Mantrolard. The other one was the good guy. He is exiled in New Jersey, and he is Black.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. I'm sorry. I'm out of time. Thank you very much. I'm out of time. I will submit the rest of my questions to the panelist in written form. I would like written answers whenever you can get the chance. Thank you. I'm out of time. Mr. Delahunt?

Mr. DELAHUNT. Thank you. I'm glad to hear that the Chairperson has praised President Carter's remarks. I think she called it a remarkable speech. My memory was she vigorously opposed his visit, but I guess we can all agree now that as it turned out it was a very positive experience for the Cuban people.

In any event, Dr. Lew, I just have one final question for you about the—there seems to be concern as it's—

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. We will give you those 30 extra seconds, please. We'll start again.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Thank you, Madam Chair. There seems to be concern, and it's been expressed by individuals that have been quoted that the programming that you've designed is reflective of one segment of the Cuban-American community. It's been described as the hardline exile community.

Mr. LEW. We are not broadcasting for the Miami community. We are broadcasting for Cuba and we are trying to broadcast what the Cuban people want to hear.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I welcome that statement, and I was very pleased to hear that you are going to consult with Mr. Duran, who clearly has—

Mr. LEW. Mr. Duran is an old friend of mine.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I am sure he is.

Mr. LEW. He is a very good man.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Well, I would like to hear his viewpoint expressed on Radio Marti. I think that's the kind of balance that we are all hoping for because I think that many of us believe that with that balanced kind of programming we can increase the listening audience for Radio Marti.

Mr. LEW. We have now a show that is—

Mr. DELAHUNT. If I can Mr. Lew, I'm going to try to adhere to the 5-minute rule. There has also been concern expressed that there was a dramatic change in terms of the quality of program when the transfer of the Marti operations went to Miami as opposed to remaining here in Washington.

Some have suggested, again, that it became more Miami focused than Cuba focused. Let me ask, Mr. Fisk, do you have an opinion as to whether that was a move that was positive in terms of the Office of Cuba broadcast or do you think it was negative? Mr. Fisk?

Mr. FISK. From a State Department perspective, I'm not sure we have an opinion, given that the—

Mr. DELAHUNT. No, but I'm asking for your personal opinion. Mr. Fisk.

Mr. FISK. When I was on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that issue was presented at that time, and Congress made the decision that it was the best thing to do to move it.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Right. I'm asking for your opinion, Mr. Fisk.

Mr. FISK. I appreciate that. I would say that, initially, my concerns were that the move—as a personal opinion—to Miami would make it more narrow. That was my opinion at the time—1995, '96.

Mr. DELAHUNT. If I can, you wrote a treatise that I read. I thought it was very interesting. Am I quoting you properly when I read this, and I think you wrote this last year—

“Moving the facilities to Miami sacrificed its effectiveness, making it simply another Miami radio station. Radio Marti should be relocated and every effort should be made to end its image as a mouthpiece of the Miami-Cuban American community.”

Am I quoting your—

Mr. FISK. I wrote something to that effect in 2000.

Mr. DELAHUNT. 2001 is when it was—

Mr. FISK. Actually, it was written in 2000.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Okay. You also wrote that:

“TV Marti remains a good idea. I think we can embrace that, but not much more. It's a hope more than a reality.”

Did you write that Mr. Fisk?

Mr. FISK. That's what I wrote, yes, but those words were written in the context of the importance attached to the Martis.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I understand. Maybe Mr. Conniff, you can inform me, and again, I think it does make a lot more sense to go prime time as opposed to let it remain at 3:30 a.m. in the morning. Again, I'm talking about TV Marti, but do we have any guarantees or can you unequivocally make a guarantee to Members of the Committee that we will have improved penetration as a result of the change of hours.

Mr. CONNIFF. No, we can't guarantee that. As I said before, unless we repeal the laws of physics, there is certain limitations. That's why we have to fly the aerostat to 10,000 feet to get it in.

It does also go on the satellite. I know a lot of people like to dismiss that, but that has value. I believe there is a lot of value that the signal is available and is picked up by the Cuban hierarchy.

We have reports that video cassettes are made of its product every day and are distributed among the hierarchy.

Mr. DELAHUNT. We can reassure them that Fidel Castro and his coterie are watching it.

Mr. CONNIFF. We have seen TV Marti footage on Cuban TV So we know the pirate it. They use it.

Mr. DELAHUNT. We should sue them, Mr. Conniff. Thank you very much. I thank the Chair indulging me with some additional time.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. It's no problem. Thank you, Mr. Delahunt. Mr. Flake? If we could not start the clock until they really start.

Mr. FLAKE. Let me mediate for a minute. Mr. Conniff, what in your opinion is the greatest single area that needs improvement in Radio Marti?

Mr. CONNIFF. In Radio Marti?

Mr. FLAKE. Yes.

Mr. CONNIFF. Well, I think we have to continue in making all the efforts that we are—that we have been making to improve transmission. I think, in terms of programming, as all radio and TV stations do, they periodically reexamine their programming. I think we need to take a look at it, change with the times. We're going to have focus groups this August, which will help us determine what the proper mix of programming should be.

Mr. FLAKE. I appreciate that. I just wondered—you were quoted that the largest, most important area is program content need for improvement. Yet, in your testimony today there was very little about program content. It was all about the transmission side.

Let me just read a couple of sections from one of your last reports.

“But the vast majority of items represented a single prospective”

—this isn't you right here. This is another person—

“that of the conservative Miami Cuban exile community. This is a legitimate and important perspective, but it is by no means the only perspective that a branch of U.S. International Broadcasting Bureau should be presenting.”

Another one, during the talk shows—

“Many of the program hosts are warm in their exchanges with listeners and they have a lively spontaneity, but some of them get very heated in their denunciation of the regime, and give long and passionate speeches at which point they lose credibility as news anchors.”

Another one—

“Less appealing. Were long and rambling monologues in which hosts gave their opinions, including some inappropriate comments, long interviews and programs which did not distinguish adequately between information and opinion.”

In your opinion, are those problems being addressed?

Mr. CONNIFF. Yes, they are. The IBB conducts semi-annual reviews of the program content of Radio and TV Marti.

Earlier this week, I was attending a TV Marti review. The IBB conduct these analyses. We use outside experts and agency experts. We have an employee in our Office of Program Review who spends a number of hours a day listening to Radio Marti. It probably receives more scrutiny than other of our broadcast services.

When there is a problem, we bring it to their attention, either informally with a telephone call. We write a report, and get a response.

Mr. FLAKE. If I may, I've been reading selections of these reports over the last 3 years. It's brought up again and again and again—over and over and over. Yet, nothing seems to change, and you're telling me that it is improving. The reports don't say it. Why should we believe it now?

Mr. CONNIFF. I think the product has improved. If you take a look and read the entire review notes that we produce, both before and after the session, I think you will see a pattern of improvement. We had comments from the U.S. Interests Section just a couple of months ago, expressing the same concerns about rambling monologues and one-sided information and not diversity of opinion. So it's improved over the last 2 months.

There are improvements that are always needed. Broadcasting and all of our other VOA services constantly have to examine their product and make improvements. I think on balance overall, if you take the bottom line of those program review notes, you will see that the product meets acceptable journalistic standards and is, in fact, improving, not to say that there aren't misstatements made from time to time. On balance, I think you will find a positive trend.

Mr. FLAKE. On balance, I would bet that independent journalists who have and will differ with your opinion there. I think more improvement is needed and faster.

Mr. Franco and Mr. Fisk, getting back to the question of how many internet users there are and what not, what is the cost of the internet use per month in Cuba? Is it about the same as it is here, I would guess? You can't get it for less than \$20 a month here.

Mr. FRANCO. My understanding, Mr. Flake, is that all internet access and connections in Cuba are controlled by the Cuban government directly. So I don't believe that there is independent use the way we're thinking of internet access. All the internet access is controlled by the government.

Mr. FLAKE. What about television? What does cost for a television in Havana? Are we to assume that people are purchasing televisions and satellites with their government stipends of \$20 a month or so, or is there some kind of black market going on?

Mr. FRANCO. Well, I'll let Secretary Fisk comment on this as well. As you know, Mr. Flake, there are some remittances—a great of remittances coming into Cuba and have been for some time.

Unfortunately, the specifics, in terms of the number—I know you asked us earlier—of television sets. During the break, I made some inquiries about this. The number of, for that matter radios, or other electronic equipment in a controlled society, it's very difficult to get a precise number. However, there is more access in Cuba to televisions and to radios than there has been in the past.

Mr. FLAKE. Right. I would submit that shows—it is owing to the benefits of trade and commerce and the black market that is out there. Thank you.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much, Mr. Flake.

Mr. Diaz Balart, we are pleased to have you back with us. Thank you.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Thank you very much. I'm sorry I missed the testimony. I will be certain to read all of the testimony later on. I wanted to ask—I'm sure it's covered in the written testimony, but I would like to ask Dr. Lew, with regard to the changes that have been made in Radio Marti in increasing the news available that's transmitted to the people of Cuba on a daily basis, could you talk about that?

Mr. LEW. From two and a half hours that we use to broadcast, we are broadcasting 5 hours of solid news, plus every half an hour, a news bulletins of five or 7 minutes, according to the time that it's broadcasted, everybody in Cuba wants to know anything from all over the world, they just have to tune into Radio Marti.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Dr. Lew, has that tremendous, and I think you need to be—you should be commended for that increase in the news operation and availability. To accomplish that, have you utilized—is Radio Marti utilizing the work of—and I'm sure you mentioned this. Again, I'm sorry that I wasn't here for your testimony—independent journalist from within Cuba?

Mr. LEW. Yes. We have even, in addition to the news, we have four half hours dedicated to independent journalists broadcasting from Cuba through Radio Marti. That means four shows of 5 hours. It means 2 hours per day.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. In addition to the 5 hours? That's in addition to the 5 hours?

Mr. LEW. In addition to the 5 hours—well, in the 5 hours, we also reported from independent journalists in Cuba.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Thank you. Mr. Conniff, you probably—again, I owe the same apology to you. I'll review your testimony later. You made reference to the efforts that are being engaged in, in trying to increase the technical abilities; especially—well, for both radio and also, especially for television. I assume you went into those?

Mr. CONNIFF. Yes. I can very quickly summarize. We're exploring the possibility of leasing additional medium wave frequencies from stations in South Florida. We're also exploring the possibility of erecting some additional antennas in our Greenville, North Carolina station to broadcast additional short wave transmission frequencies.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Would the gentleman yield for a moment? I have a technical question?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Go ahead.

Mr. DELAHUNT. If you can explain this, there are radio stations in Miami now—Radio Mambi, Radio Poderosa. Are those stations picked up in Cuba?

Mr. CONNIFF. They are, but it's spotty. It's picked up primarily on north facing hills or by people in high rise apartment buildings. It doesn't give you an even coverage of the City of Havana.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Is the penetration between, say, those two stations and Radio Marti comparable?

Mr. CONNIFF. No. Ours is a much more powerful transmission.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I yield back. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I guess it would be of technical interest to my colleague. When I listened to one of the stations that you referred to, oftentimes the jamming is so intense from Cuba against Radio Mambi—at least when I turn it on. Oftentimes, what I listen to is the radio from Cuba on that frequency. The jamming is so intense.

Irrespective of, and in addition to the difficulty, I guess, of listening in Cuba to broadcasts that are meant for an audience in South Florida, when that is coupled by increased jamming, the usefulness for the Cuban people of the news that's broadcasted from the Miami stations is very, very reduced and it increases the importance of the news and information broadcasted by Radio Marti and Television Marti.

Mr. Conniff, you went into, I assume, some—also, I would also assume that some of the detail is not being entered into at this time, but efforts engaged in with regard to increasing the possible penetration for television.

Mr. CONNIFF. Yes, we discussed that also. I'll briefly summarize that. We now have the capability to remotely change the channel—the three channels that we have. So we play cat and mouse with the jammers. We can also, with some minor degrees, change the beam every day so they don't know exactly where to put their jammers. And we're exploring the possibility of utilizing not only UHF, which we just in the last few years have gone to, but also switch back and forth with VHF to, once again, make it more difficult for the jammers to keep up with us.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Well, I guess I'll limit my comments with regard to television to what I've said, basically, because I think that there are other discussions going on with regard to television. That hopefully will lead to more than what you've referred to, Mr. Conniff.

I simply wanted to thank the Chairlady, again. To state that I do not think that when, for example, Mr. Conniff made reference to the fact that the totalitarian regime hierarchy views TV Marti or that they sometimes use the footage for the totalitarian regime's broadcast to the Cuban people that, that's a laughing matter. I don't believe it's a laughing matter. I think it's a serious matter.

I think that the fact that the hierarchy; especially, much of the armed forces have access to these television broadcast is of importance. Generally, when we speak of these matters, I would simply maintain it's not a laughing matter. We're dealing with 11 million people who have been oppressed in a manner without precedent in this hemisphere for 43 years.

The Cuban people are living a totalitarian nightmare, and everything that concerns the Cuban people and their suffering is not a laughing matter.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Diaz Balart. Thank you very much, and you are always welcome as is any Member to come join our Subcommittee. We thank you for your participation.

We'll ask our colleagues who were not able to be with us or those who had additional questions to submit them in writing. We would like to thank you for your patience, and thank you for your expert testimony. Thank you so much.

I would like to now to present our second panel. Mr. Alfredo Duran, an accomplished attorney who runs his own practice in Miami, and is President of the Cuban Committee for Democracy of which he has been a member since 1994.

We thank Mr. Alfredo Duran, a good friend, for joining us here today.

He will be followed by Mr. Phil Peters, Vice President of the Lexington Institute, a public policy research organization based in Virginia. From his post at this institute, Mr. Peters covers international economic programs with a focus on Latin America.

Furthermore, Peters is an advisor to the Cuba Working Group that formed in January 2002 by our colleagues, Mr. Delahunt and Mr. Flake and he served as a member of the Council of Foreign Relations Task Force on U.S.-Cuba relations. We thank you for joining us today.

Then we will be hearing from two Cubans who have endured the lack of freedom that exists in Cuba, and have faced imprisonment and harassment due to their continual struggles to maintain freedom alive in Cuba.

We will hear from Ernesto Diaz Rodriguez. Mr. Rodriguez turned 22 years of imprisonment in Castro's worst jails into sonnets of hope. Originally sentenced to 15 years in prison, his sentence was extended to 40 years after he was charged with attempting to overthrow the Castro regime from his dark prison cell.

His crime within jail was to smuggle out on tiny sheets of paper the lines of what would become an extraordinary collection of children's poems, *The Bell of Dawn*, which he finished in jail.

After his release in 1991, Mr. Diaz has continued to work closely with the Casa de los Plantados. We welcome you here today, Mr. Diaz Rodriguez. It's an honor always to have you present.

We will begin our testimony, and that's the hook up that we're trying to make with Berta Mexidor. Because of transmission times, we need to get her on first and have any of the colleague ask her questions because we cannot get more satellite time for her.

An incredible woman who, along with her husband, transformed their home into the embodiment of peacefully defying the Castro regime and restored some semblance of normalcy to the Cuban people by creating something as simple as an independent library in the middle of Havana. Yet, this is a crime in Havana.

I hope that the members of the Cuba Interest Section enjoy their freedom here in the United States and get to go to independent libraries. What a shame that the government—the regime that you so proudly represent in this free country—does not allow people on the island of Cuba to have an independent library in their homes.

But I am sure you are enjoying all of our liberties here. We think it's great.

Their idea spread like wild fire across the island today and there are over 100 independent libraries located in the homes of the brave volunteers and activists due to their efforts to provide the Cuban people with the space for their free exchange of ideas.

What happened to her when the Castro regime forcibly relocated her and her family to a remote military camp? The regime burglarized the library they kept, and after continual harassment from the regime, leading to her and her husband losing their job and home

and their child being kicked out of school, Berta and her family were finally able to seek refuge in the United States just before the new year.

I don't know if we've made the connection, Sandy—and if we're ready to go?

[Pause.]

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. I would be glad to go to the second panelist, but I'm afraid that while we're doing that it interrupts the testimony. Is it possible that you can continue to work that while we hear the testimony from the other panelist? I don't want them to be interrupted with that sound. Thank you.

Your full testimony will be entered as part of the record, so if you could briefly summarize, we would appreciate that. Thank you, Mr. Duran.

STATEMENT OF ALFRED DURAN, CUBAN COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY

Mr. DURAN. Thank you very much, Madam Chair. Thanks to the members of the panel for the opportunity to share my opinions of Cuba Broadcasting with you.

I think that the real issue is whether Cuba Broadcasting is effective in achieving its stated purpose. If the Cuban government stopped jamming Cuban Broadcasting, it would still be ineffective because the programming is not relevant to Cuban reality.

Due to the limited time allowed, I will focus my comments on Radio Marti and briefly mention TV Marti. In my opinion TV Marti is a waste taxpayers' money. It's a phantom TV station. Nobody sees it. It's ineffective, and it has become a money pit. I don't believe that anybody in Congress can attest to its effectiveness. This is money that can be applied better somewhere else.

As to Radio Marti, we must begin with the obvious. The apparent disarray in the organizational structure of the station. During the past few Administrations there has been a hostile atmosphere surrounding the organization, employees' dissatisfaction, open dissent, statements to the press, lawsuits for sexual discrimination and generally, a very deep-rooted morale problem.

Based on perceived favoritism to friends of whoever is in charge, and a lack of recognition for merit and professionalism. In my opinion, the root of this malaise has its origins in the move of the station from Washington, DC to Miami. This move transformed the station from a U.S. Government agency to a local Miami exile radio station.

The second aspect that must be reviewed is the programming. It is mostly nostalgia oriented toward pre-1959 Cuba. The majority of Cubans in the island were born after 1959. Radio Marti programming should be more contemporary and forward-looking.

If the intent of the programming is to create a basis for a peaceful transition toward democracy, it must focus on the present generation which will be the actors in that transition.

The program should also reflect the varied views of the exiled community and the people within the island. The perception now is that Radio Marti only reflects one point of view—that of the historical exiled community, those who arrived in the 1960s. Since

that time, different points of view have surged in the exiled community's debate.

Recent polls reflect that the community is becoming more moderate and yet, this moderate group has no place within the programming spectrum of Radio Marti. There is no diversity and this lack of diversity paints Radio Marti as a station at the service of a narrow segment of the Cuban community, and certainly, this is not in the best interest of the United States and its foreign policy.

Finally, Radio Marti news programs should really strive to be non-censored, non-editorialize hard news. The moment that a news program slants the news, it ceases to be credible and trusted. The Cubans in the island are not naive. They can perceive deception, and that is one of the reasons that the audience of Radio Marti seems to have dramatically fallen off.

If the United States government expects to develop a credible information vehicle, directed to the Cuban people, making them aware of their choice and raising expectation of a better future, this station must be redesigned in the following ways—(1) administrative restructuring; (2) contemporary programming; (3) diversity of contents and ideas; (4) unbiased news reporting.

Above all, it should send a message of a better future without vengeance, violence and hate. Unless changes are made, Congress is wasting taxpayers' money. I should add here that is not in your concept here. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Duran follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ALFRED DURAN, CUBAN COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY

Honorable Members of the Panel:

Thank you for the opportunity to share with you my opinions of Cuba Broadcasting.

Due to the limited time allowed, I will focus my comments on Radio Marti and briefly mention TV Marti. In my opinion, TV Marti is a waste of taxpayers' money. It is a phantom TV station. Nobody sees it, it is ineffective, and it has become a money pit. I don't believe that anybody in Congress can attest to its effectiveness. This is money that can be best applied somewhere else.

As to Radio Marti, we must begin with the obvious. The apparent disarray in the organizational structure of the station. During the past few administrations there has been a hostile atmosphere surrounding the organization, employees' dissatisfaction, open dissent, statements to the press, lawsuits for sexual harassment and discrimination and generally, a very deep routed morale problem. Based on perceived favoritism to friends of whoever is in charge and a lack of recognition for merit and professionalism. In my opinion, the root of this malaise has its origin in the move of the station from Washington, D.C. to Miami. This move transforms the station from a U.S. government agency to a local Miami exile station.

The second aspect that must be reviewed is the programming. It is mostly nostalgia oriented toward pre 1959 Cuba. The majority of Cubans in the island were born after 1959. Radio Marti programming should be more contemporary and forward looking. If the intent of the programming is to create a basis for a peaceful transition towards democracy it must focus on the present generation which will be the actors in that transition.

The programming should also reflect the varied views of the exiled community and the people within the island. The perception now is that Radio Marti only reflects one point of view—that of the historical exiled community, those who arrived in the 1960s—since that time different points of view have surged in the exiled community's debate. Recent polls reflect that the community is becoming more moderate and yet these moderate groups have no place within the programming spectrum of Radio Marti. There is no diversity and this lack of diversity paints Radio Marti as a station at the service of a narrow segment of the Cuban community and certainly this is not in the best interest of the United States and its foreign policy.

Finally, Radio Marti news program should really strive to be non-censored, non-editorialized hard news. The moment that a news program slants the news, it

ceases to be credible and trusted. The Cubans in the island are not naive. They can perceive deception and that is one of the reasons that the audiences of Radio Marti seem to have dramatically fallen off.

If the United States government expects to develop a credible information vehicle directed to the Cuban people, making them aware of their choices and raising expectations of a better future, this station must be redesigned in the following ways:

1. Administrative restructuring.
2. Contemporary programming.
3. Diversity of contents and ideas.
4. Unbiased news reporting.

Above all, it should send a message of a better future without vengeance, violence and hate.

Unless changes are made, Congress is wasting taxpayers' moneys.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much, Mr. Duran. I believe that we are going to try again to do the hookup with Berta. Thank you.

[Pause.]

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. We will try her again. Mr. Peters, thank you so much for joining us.

STATEMENT OF PHIL PETERS, LEXINGTON INSTITUTE

Mr. PETERS. Thank you, Madam Chairwoman. I appreciate the chance to be here, and I will try as best I can to fly through my statement.

I come as a great supporter of American public diplomacy efforts. In spite of the course of a lot of the discussion took this morning, I think that everybody here does support the idea of American public diplomacy and our broadcasting toward Cuba. It seems to me the differences are over the issue of quality.

I think that we do best, and have done best for decades, in the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty, when we broadcast the truth—when we just have good journalism. So that rather than preaching at a foreign audience, we are showing an example of democratic discourse that's fair and balanced and accurate.

Somebody in a country where you don't have that will listen to a U.S. Government station, they will hear issues discussed where the American President has a point view, and they will say, "Here's a government that's putting on the opposite point of view." It's putting on a debate about something the President feels strongly about. It gives them a sense of democracy and that is what works for us.

Sadly, at Radio Marti, we have not had high quality journalism. I think that the issue of President Carter, the 4-hour delay in the broadcast of Elian Gonzalez' seizure or whatever you want to call it that morning—those are colossal journalistic failures.

Dr. Lew was talking this morning about—I don't know—giving some government speak about why it was impossible to get that signal. I think that's incredible. The Elian Gonzalez case was an immense news story. President Carter's speech was not just a news story. It was a historic event. Any news professional worth their salt would be jumping up and down to get those on the air.

In the case Elian Gonzalez, it was a 4-hour delay. In the case of Carter it was 24 hours, and there, Dr. Lew showed no initiative whatsoever.

Everyday all around the world news organizations share with each other. They buy and sell feeds to each other. He could have gotten that feed from anywhere—from dozens of other news sources that covered it in Havana. I think it's just emblematic of the lack of initiative.

More important, when you blow a major news story, you lose your audience. The attitude that he's conveying is one that's going to lose the audience and not gain it.

The U.S. Interests Section has pointed out that in their observations Cubans tend to turn to Radio Marti when news is breaking. What Radio Marti has shown under Dr. Lew's management and under previous management is that on these critical news stories that are controversial in Miami, Radio Marti is turning away from its audience in Cuba just as the audience in Cuba is turning to it.

Sadly, these lapses are part of the pattern of substandard journalism that I think is tragic for the effectiveness of Radio Marti. It's been described here to some extent. It's described in my testimony—a pattern of one-sided coverage, tendentious coverage, mixture of news and comment in ways that is confusing to the listener. Violations of Voice of America standards regarding profanity, regarding personal attacks on people, coverage that is focused on Miami and not on the United States or the larger world.

Even dissidents in Cuba complain. I cite in my testimony Manuel David Orrio, who wrote how Radio Marti favors the extreme right of the exiled community. The idea that you get in the face of these journalistic failures is that there is a—first of all, let's give Dr. Lew credit for increasing the amount of news. He deserves credit for that, but he and the Broadcasting Board of Governors seem very, very slow to address these problems and seem to be content—as was elicited in the answer to Mr. Flake—the idea that they're thinking about the problems as oppose to solving them.

I urge you in the interest of the quality of these broadcasts to get involved, to continue your oversight and to fix these problems, and to demand that they be fixed, not in government time, but to fix them in real time.

I'll give you a set of recommendations. I would recommend termination of TV Marti. I would keep an open mind, as Congressman Delahunt does, end it now after 15 years of the thing being in existence, there are starting to be reports of some innovative ways to get the signal in, and perhaps there's an audience. But for 15 years we've had no audience, and I can't see spending \$1 million, much less \$10 or \$12 million a year on something like that.

I think it's time to move the Radio Marti newsroom and headquarters back to Washington. Retain a news bureau in Miami because, obviously, there are reporting assets there and there's a story in Miami; but this is a Voice of America operation. Its mission is to cover our entire society and not one segment of it and it's important that it be here to do that.

I think the management of the newsroom in Radio Marti needs to be overhauled. Obviously, we're never going to have a problem—the Cuban-American community is always going to be covered, but there needs to be people who are not Cuban-Americans in there in supervisory roles so that these lapses of where huge news stories are not covered never occur again.

People that have no links to Miami politics, have a strong journalism background, have an ability to produce a program that more reflects our entire country. That needs to be part of the mix. It's a Voice of America radio station after all, and newsroom managers have to be required to be able to function in English so that they can exercise news judgment.

I'll just summarize by saying that it's important to demand immediate implementation of basic reforms and not a go slow approach, to restore the Research Department of Radio Marti, to use independent monitoring again of the programming content, and to broaden the programming horizons so that it covers much more of story than it is now. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Peters follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF PHIL PETERS, LEXINGTON INSTITUTE

Madam Chairman, members of the subcommittee:

I thank you for inviting me here today and I applaud your decision to exercise long-needed oversight of our government's broadcasting to Cuba.

Radio Marti's audience share has plummeted to five percent in 2001, down from nine percent in 2000 and 71 percent ten years ago, according to professional survey research commissioned by the Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG), Radio Marti's oversight body. This is an alarming statistic, considering that Radio Marti is expressly produced to appeal to the Cuban audience.

Radio Marti has an important role in the U.S. government's public diplomacy mission. Those of us who believe strongly in that mission, regardless of the views we hold in the separate debate over U.S. policy toward Cuba, should take these figures as a sign that Radio Marti's programming needs serious examination.

FAILURES OF NEWS JUDGMENT

Journalists mark major news events as defining moments that test their professional mettle and—if they do their jobs right on big stories—can give the public reason to rely regularly on their particular newspaper or radio station. By this standard, it is useful to examine Radio Marti's treatment of two events of major importance to its Cuban audience.

On April 22, 2001, when Elian Gonzalez was taken from his Miami relatives' home and returned to his father, Radio Marti delayed reporting this news for four hours—two hours after Cuban media began broadcasting the event.

BBG's internal monitoring of Radio Marti found that the station's coverage on April 22 was "Miami-focused," emphasizing local opposition to the Administration's policy and its decision to act with force at the expense of coverage of the Administration's position, which was "not extensive." BBG also found that even in the context of "comprehensive" coverage of the Elian story, there were three-hour delays one week earlier of important policy announcements by the Attorney General and President.

Last month, former President Carter made history in Cuba when he addressed a University of Havana audience and his remarks, delivered in Spanish, were carried live on Cuban state media. He advocated greater respect for human rights; told the Cuban people of the Varela project and described its proponents as loyal, patriotic Cubans; and expressed his opposition to current U.S. policy toward Cuba. Radio Marti failed to cover this event live; it broadcast it the next day after the Voice of America's Spanish service carried it.

In neither case has there been an adequate explanation for the failure to cover these major news events. In neither case was there doubt as to facts that might have justified a delay in reporting the news—Elian Gonzalez was in Miami, after all, and President Carter's speech was a public act.

The failure to provide timely coverage of these events shows that the newsroom management of Radio Marti operates not according to standard news judgment, but according to some other criteria. It seems quite clear that both stories were withheld because they were controversial in Miami, where many opposed Elian Gonzalez's return to his father's custody, and many opposed President Carter's views on Cuba policy and his dialogue with Cuban authorities.

Worse, this failure is surprising in light of Radio Marti's need to rebuild its audience. According to a State Department report last year, American diplomats in Havana find that Cubans tend to turn to Radio Marti at times of breaking news. If

this is so, Radio Marti turned away from its audience just as Cubans were turning to it for reliable information. In both cases, Cuban state media beat Radio Marti to the story.

I have been able to find no indication that Radio Marti management sees these lapses in coverage as failures of news judgment, nor have they resulted in consequences for any member of Radio Marti management.

A LONG PATTERN OF NEWSROOM TROUBLES

One might view the Elian Gonzalez and Carter cases as isolated errors, but in fact there is a long history of substandard journalism at Radio Marti.

A survey of Radio Marti programming in 1998 was done by an independent panel of journalism experts. The panel found significant problems affecting the station's credibility and professionalism, including "lack of balance, fairness, and objectivity and lack of adequate sourcing" and "poor news judgment in story selection." The panel found that "hard" news coverage was generally good, but many programs mixed news and opinion in ways that seemed to be designed more to persuade than to inform. Examples from this survey:

- One program discussed legislation to ease the U.S. trade embargo; it featured comments by two U.S. legislators, both from Miami, both opposed to the legislation, and none from supporters of the legislation.
- Another program discussed a U.S. intelligence community report issued by the Pentagon on the extent to which Cuba poses a security threat to the United States; it featured only commentators who opposed the report as too soft an assessment.
- A newscast carried Cuban American criticism of Bahamas policy toward Cuban migrants but no statement of the Bahamian government's position.

The following examples are drawn from other sources.

Talk show host Nancy Crespo recently led a discussion of "Cubans in the United States who work for the Castro regime," by which she meant advocates of engagement and normalization of relations. She labeled Max Castro, a University of Miami sociologist and contributor to *The Miami Herald*, "Fidel Castro's columnist in *The Miami Herald*." Such characterizations violate Radio Marti's own editorial guidelines, which prohibit inflammatory and derogatory descriptions of individuals. This is a longstanding problem that affects Radio Marti's image and credibility, and it persists even under current management. Just two months ago, an internal BBG program review found that the problem continues, citing a case of a "highly derogatory" commentary about former President Carter that was withheld from the air because of its content. BBG recommended that commentators be reminded of the editorial guidelines rather than be removed from Radio Marti altogether.

Last February, Cuban independent journalist Manuel David Orrio reported that, "Every day, Radio Marti is turning more and more to the positions of the extreme right of the Cuban exile community...it raises the question whether for the current management of Radio Marti, political opinion is more important than credibility."

Orrio's views are not isolated. According to Vicki Huddleston, chief of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, dissidents "really don't like programs that reflect prerevolutionary events. They say that this is just nostalgia." According to Huddleston, Cuba's dissidents say Radio Marti "must be different in tone and substance from Radio Mambi and La Poderosa," two commercial Miami stations.

The late exile leader Jorge Mas Canosa was covered frequently on Radio Marti. When his brother's 1989 libel judgment against him was dismissed, Radio Marti covered the story by putting it at the top of its hourly newscast for 48 hours. Mas, in addition to being the head of the Advisory Commission on Cuba Broadcasting from its inception to his death, had political ambitions in post-Castro Cuba.

In 1994, when tens of thousands of Cubans took to sea in rafts and many ended up at the Guantanamo naval base, the U.S. Interests Section in Havana protested that Radio Marti broadcasts did not adequately present the U.S. government's point of view, and that its programming at times had the dangerous effect of encouraging rafters to go to sea. For example, a program based on interviews with scores of Cuban Americans in Miami carried their opinion that all rafters should be brought to the United States, not to Guantanamo, and gave the impression that this reflected American public opinion in general.

Not even the Bush Administration is spared from Radio Marti's bias. In his speech last month, the President presented the possibility that political reform in Cuba could bring an easing of American sanctions, even under Cuba's current constitution and even with Fidel and Raul Castro in office. This relaxes a provision of the Helms-Burton law and is opposed by many Cuban Americans, who cannot fath-

om democratic reform under Fidel Castro. Reflecting this view, Radio Marti's website put a sarcastic headline above its story on the Administration's policy: "*Comunismo Democratico.*"

An event that needs clarification is Radio Marti's broadcasts last February of remarks by Mexico's foreign minister that indicated that the doors of Mexico's Havana embassy are open to all Cubans. The remarks were made in Miami and broadcast repeatedly. On February 27, 21 Cuban men slammed a bus through the gates of Mexico's embassy, and some have alleged that Radio Marti's broadcasts played a role. Radio Marti denies that its broadcasts were inflammatory, and released tapes and transcripts of its broadcasts. However, Miami journalists have reported that the actual broadcast differed from the version that Radio Marti released in response to the controversy.

AUDITORS' RECOMMENDATIONS AND CURRENT MANAGEMENT

Based in part on the 1998 independent journalists' survey, a June 1999 audit by the Inspector General of the United States Information Agency recommended a series of management changes, including:

- strengthening internal program review procedures, including to evaluate whether Radio Marti clearly and effectively presents U.S. policies;
- reviving focus group evaluations or Radio Marti programming;
- establishment of a program log system to have a full record of all Radio Marti broadcasts; and
- establishment of external oversight procedures.

Since last year, Radio and TV Marti have been managed by Salvador Lew. Mr. Lew deserves credit for expanding the station's news content, increasing the number and frequency of news broadcasts.

However, Mr. Lew tends to belittle criticism of Radio Marti operations rather than use it to search for ways to make improvements in the station's operations. In an article he wrote in Miami's *El Nuevo Herald*, "Why They Attack Radio Marti," he admits that there are critics whose views are "welcome when they act in good faith." He goes on to explain that criticism of Radio Marti comes from disgruntled employees and from "Fidel Castro, his spokesmen and sympathizers." "The enemies have been aroused," Mr. Lew writes, and Fidel Castro "ordered his instruments to carry out a defamation campaign against Radio Marti."

One can certainly question whether such statements are worthy of a senior official of the American government. However, it is clear is that Mr. Lew does not appreciate that for years, Radio Marti has been criticised by people who believe in its mission and who believe that Radio Marti itself has failed to live up to the Voice of America's high standards.

Considering that the failure to broadcast President Carter's speech and violations of VOA broadcasting standards have occurred on his watch, it is also clear that Mr. Lew not only inherited a pattern of questionable journalistic practices, in some cases he is perpetuating them. And in conjunction with BBG, he is taking a slow approach to implementing management changes, such as establishing a program log and reviving focus group research and independent program monitors, that can improve the station.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHANGE

Radio Marti operates in a competitive environment against Cuba's variety of state media and other international broadcasts. Its low audience share is obviously related to programming quality—a fact that is reflected in messages that the Voice of America's Spanish service receives from Cuba, and in the high rate of Cuban responses, by telephone and e-mail, to VOA's audience participation programs.

It is inconceivable that a private sector investor would pour over \$20 million annually into an enterprise that has no discernible television audience, a small and declining radio audience, serial failures to exercise sound news judgment on major stories, and an inability to adhere to broadcast quality standards over a period of years.

Congress should demand better results for the taxpayers' money. Rather than tolerate the current go-slow approach that is typical of the federal bureaucracy, Congress should approach Radio and TV Marti with a private sector mentality and demand for prompt, radical change.

I recommend the following steps:

1. *Terminate TV Marti* in light of its failure to establish an audience in Cuba and its inability to overcome Cuban jamming.

2. *Move the Radio Marti newsroom* and the Office of Cuba Broadcasting headquarters back to Washington, retaining a news bureau in Miami. This will preserve reporting resources in Miami, but it will allow closer supervision by the Voice of America and Congress. It will also contribute to fulfillment of a key element of the VOA Charter, that VOA broadcasts should “represent America, not any single segment of American society.”

3. *Overhaul Radio Marti’s newsroom management.* In addition to personnel with roots in the Cuban American community, there should be news and programming supervisors who are not Cuban American, have no links to Miami politics, have strong journalism backgrounds, and have an ability to produce programming that is more reflective of our entire country and more compliant with the VOA Charter. In addition, full English language proficiency should be required of all newsroom personnel as an essential tool for reporting and news judgment. The current management of Radio Marti’s newsroom, Lazaro Asencio and Agustin Alles, do not speak English.

4. *Demand immediate implementation of basic reforms* such as establishment of a program log, utilization of focus group research, and termination of broadcasters who fail to adhere to Radio Marti’s standards of professionalism and fairness.

5. *Restore Radio Marti’s research department.* Congress abolished this office in 1996 without conducting hearings at a time when personnel in this office were known to be critical of Radio Marti’s program quality. The department had four analysts who made recommendations, collaborated in program development, consulted with news and feature programming staff, and generally provided a source of long-range perspective. The department also had an excellent library of Cuban history and current affairs. In light of the need to improve program quality, this office should be restored.

6. *Use independent monitors.* Radio Marti would benefit from regular monitoring reports by diverse groups of American professional journalists who are not U.S. government employees, and who would be free to give candid assessments of the quality of Radio Marti’s programming.

7. *Increase Congressional oversight.* This hearing is a good beginning, but continued oversight is needed to end the culture where criticism of Radio Marti’s programming is interpreted as rejection of the station’s mission. Congressional oversight will be particularly helpful in addressing program quality issues, and in resolving the widely reported allegations of mismanagement and sexual discrimination at Radio Marti.

8. *Broaden programming horizons.* Congress should expect that Radio Marti live up to the VOA standard that its broadcasts reflect all of America, not just one sector. Congress could usefully ask whether Radio Marti is covering significant stories that reflect sectors of American society that are involved in Cuba. One major story is Cuba’s purchase of \$100 million in American food since last fall. Is Radio Marti covering the companies that are making these sales? Is it describing the way this food is being distributed in Cuba? Is it covering those who support these sales as well as those who oppose them? Another major development is the large numbers of Americans who are visiting Cuba with or without U.S. government licenses. What is the experience of these visitors? What interaction do they have with Cuban citizens? What difference do they make in Cuba?

The Voice of America’s Charter is a brief and clear statement of its mission and standards, and it is worth reviewing in light of Radio Marti’s troubles. “To win the attention and respect of listeners,” the Charter states, VOA must be “a consistently reliable and authoritative source” of “accurate, objective and comprehensive” news. VOA’s mission is to “represent America, not any single segment of American society.” The charter concludes: “VOA will present the policies of the United States clearly and effectively, and will also present responsible discussion and opinion on those policies.”

It is a shame that Radio Marti has gone so far off course that it often falls short of the standards of that Charter and does not live up to the VOA’s long and honored tradition.

Radio Marti needs to rebuild, first by focusing relentlessly and exclusively on its mission to deliver comprehensive and professional news coverage. If it does so, it will begin to rebuild its audience in Cuba and fulfill the important public diplomacy mission assigned to it. I hope the attention you are lending to this issue marks the beginning of that process.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much, Mr. Peters. Ernesto Diaz Rodriguez, it’s a pleasure to have you with us. Thank you.

**STATEMENT OF ERNESTO DIAZ RODRIGUEZ, FORMER CUBAN
POLITICAL PRISONER**

Mr. DIAZ RODRIGUEZ. Honorable Chairwoman of this Subcommittee of International Operations and Human Rights, esteemed Members of Congress and all others present here today, good afternoon to all of you. It's my honor and pleasure to be here this afternoon to speak to you in this historic arena.

My name is Ernesto Diaz Rodriguez. I was born in Cojimar, a small fishing village east of Havana Bay. I make my livelihood as a writer and poet, and because of my love for liberty and freedom, I was forced to endure 22 years, 3 months, and 19 days as a political prisoner in the prisons of Mr. Fidel Castro. At the present time, I serve as a co-Director of Plantados Hasta la Libertad y la Democracia en Cuba, an organization also comprised by Mario Chanes de Armas, Eusebio Penalver, and Angel de Fana, all of whom spent over 20 years in Castro's prisons as well. Plantados, or Planted, that is the name that we became known as while resisting the demands and will of Castro's prison officials, remaining planted in our commitment to freedom was the only tool to defray the dictatorship, often enduring tortures.

Because I continue, I would like to express my gratitude to Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen for her generous invitation to come before you today with the purpose of sharing my experiences and opinions with respect to Radio and TV Marti.

Today I have the privilege of exercising my right to freedom of speech without any fear of being incarcerated for doing so. This is possible here in the United States because of a democratic system that nurtures the doctrine of guaranteeing and protecting fundamental liberties for all. Unfortunately, in my homeland of Cuba, a much different ideology exists. One in which a select group has taken it upon themselves to conduct and lead the disastrous experiment Cubans have come to know as the Revolution.

Liberty is an inherent component of what it means to be a civilization, and as such is of great significance to the human race. By not observing and respecting it, the possibility of harmonious and peaceful coexistence among the entire human race simply becomes an unattainable dream. Liberty is also the oxygen that vitalizes the human spirit and serves as a source of inspiration for the creativity and development of cities, towns, and villages.

For these reasons, liberty is something that all should be entitled to and all should be able to enjoy in all corners of the world. It is the responsibility of all of us to defend it, especially in places where it is suppressed or arbitrarily limited.

I consider liberty to be a basic and necessary requisite for happiness. Since my youth, these principles and ideas have guided me in my efforts. It is precisely for living my life according to these principles of human dignity and decency, the very ones that Jose Marti taught us to defend through the example he set, that I was punished with imprisonment and subjected to 22 years of the worst and most repressive and torturous conditions imaginable. It was there, at Boniato Prison, that I was able to perceive and understand the far-reaching effects and importance that Radio Marti transmissions have on the Cuban people.

In a country where all mediums of mass communication are entirely controlled by the government for the sole purpose of spreading the interest of the Communist Party, the opportunity for the Cuban people to hear these transmissions of uncensored information is of great importance. Aborting the project shouldn't even be an issue. It should not even be open to discussion.

However, we are here exercising the freedom of speech that democracy affords us, whereby truth, reason, and transparency have the opportunity to prevail in the end. The transparency and reason that we seek to obtain for our repressive homeland is exactly what we are doing as we not only defend Radio and TV Marti existence, but also strive to make technical improvements that guarantee the quality of its reception.

Cuban reality, as bitter as it may be, cannot be ignored. If it is our sincere intention to offer the benefit of information to the people of Cuba instead of extending our hand to the diabolic dictator who has committed all types of perversities against helpless citizens.

Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states—“All individuals have the right to freedom of opinion and expression. This right includes freedom from harassment for holding a particular opinion, the right to investigate and receive information and opinions and spread them without limitation by any means of expression.

Within this context, protected and widely distributed by the United Nations, of which Cuba is a founding member, Radio Marti's existence is legitimized and justified.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Diaz Rodriguez follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ERNESTO DIAZ RODRIGUEZ, FORMER CUBAN POLITICAL PRISONER

Esteemed Members of Congress and others present here today: it is my honor and pleasure to be here this morning to speak to all of you in this historic arena.

My name is Ernesto Diaz Rodriguez. I was born in Cojimar, a small fishing village east of Havana Bay. I make my livelihood as a writer and poet, and because of my love for liberty and freedom, I was forced to endure 22 years, 3 months, and 19 days as a political prisoner in the prisons of Mr. Fidel Castro. At the present time, I serve as a co-director of *Plantados Hasta la Libertad y la Democracia en Cuba*, an organization also comprised by Mario Chanes de Armas, Eusebio Penalver, and Angel de Fana, all of whom spent over 20 years in Castro's prisons as well.

Before I continue, I would like to express my gratitude to Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen for her generous invitation to come before you today with the purpose of sharing my experiences and opinions with respect to Radio and TV Marti.

Today I have the privilege of exercising my right to freedom of speech without any fear of being incarcerated for doing so. This is possible here in the United States because of a democratic system that nurtures the doctrine of guaranteeing and protecting fundamental liberties for all. Unfortunately, in my homeland of Cuba, a much different ideology exists. One in which a select group has taken it upon themselves to conduct and lead the disastrous experiment Cubans have come to know as *la Revolución* (the Revolution).

Liberty is an inherent component of what it means to be a civilization, and as such is of great significance to the human race. Liberty is also the oxygen that vitalizes the human spirit and serves as a source of inspiration for the creativity and development of cities, towns, and villages. For these reasons, liberty is something that all should be entitled to and all should be able to enjoy in all corners of the world. It is the responsibility of all of us to defend it, especially in places where it is suppressed or arbitrarily limited. Since my youth, these principles and ideas have guided me in my efforts. It is precisely for living my life according to these principles of human dignity and decency, the very ones that Jose Marti taught us to defend through the example he set, that I was punished with imprisonment and

subjected to 22 years of some of the worst and most repressive conditions imaginable. It was there, at Bonato prison, that I was able to perceive and understand the far-reaching effects and importance that Radio Marti transmissions have on the Cuban people.

In a country where all mediums of mass communication are entirely controlled by the government for the sole purpose of spreading the interests of the Communist party, the opportunity for the Cuban people to hear these transmissions of uncensored information is of great importance. Aborting the project should not even be an issue. It should not even be open to discussion. However, we are here exercising the freedom of speech that democracy affords us, whereby truth, reason, and transparency have the opportunity to prevail in the end. The transparency and reason that we seek to obtain for our repressed homeland is exactly what we are doing as we not only defend Radio and TV Marti's existence, but also strive to make technical improvements that guarantee the quality of its reception. Cuba's reality, as bitter as it may be, cannot be ignored. If it is our sincere intention to offer the benefit of information to the people of Cuba instead of extending our hand to a diabolic dictator who has committed all types of perversities against helpless citizens, then let us not put to use the political tactic of covering the sun with our finger or burying our head underground as an ostrich does.

Article of 19 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights states:

“All individuals have the right to freedom of opinion and expression. This right includes freedom from harassment for holding a particular opinion, the right to investigate and receive information and opinions and spread them without limitation by any means of expression.”

Today we have come to remind those who have forgotten that these rights also apply to the citizens of this island nation that exists just ninety miles off the North American coast. To remind them that the same man that directs Cuba's destiny is the one who arbitrarily confiscated North American properties. The same man who in 1962 manifested his intention to unleash nuclear weapons at the United States. The same man who on several occasions has sanctioned the United Nations' Commission on Human Rights for systematic violations. Finally, this is the same man who leads a nation that has repeatedly been listed in the State Department's list of states that practice and/or sponsor terrorism.

Radio and TV Marti is at the heart of today's debate. We are placing the happiness of the Cuban people in the hands of those with other interests who proclaim that Radio and TV Marti are “simply vehicles of propaganda” or “a joke” and live with the hope that they will have the opportunity to raise their voices in the United States Congress in support of lifting travel restrictions to Cuba and granting Mr. Fidel Castro monetary credits for the purchase North American grain and consumer products, instead of invoking President George W. Bush's policy of compassion.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. I gave you the same minute and a half that I had given Mr. Peters. So thank you so much. Thank you.

I believe that now we are ready with the hookup with Ms. Mexidor.

Ms. MEXIDOR. Hello.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Berta, yes, this is Berta Mexidor.

Ms. MEXIDOR. Yes.

STATEMENT OF BERTA MEXIDOR, FOUNDER OF CUBAN INDEPENDENT LIBRARIES

Ms. MEXIDOR. My name is Berta Mexidor. I am grateful for the opportunity that you have given me to express my opinion as a listener of Radio Marti, an independent journalist and on occasion, as a news maker.

As a university professor and creator, along with my husband, of the Project of Independent Libraries in Cuba, I believed that current information devoid of political slant and without fear of reprisals should be the starting point of civic education. This right is denied Cubans on the island.

The official state media is characterized by a propaganda that allows no space for criticism unless it is directed at foreign countries or governments. A Cuban is more likely to learn if it is of interest to the government of Cuba what is going on in any given country of the world rather than what has happened in his own town or province.

In Cuba news related to conditions of poverty or tragic events in other countries are exploited to serve as a paradigm for Cuban reality.

Analysis and news itself are provided to the public after several days or months have transpired, and only when Communist Party officials believe that the time has come for the people to know.

For those who live in a democracy where information circulates freely, is current and the news media is characterized by truth, competence and impartiality, a project such as Radio and TV Marti serves no purpose.

But in Cuba there are only two television stations. Parabolic antennas are prohibited and the programming provides no options for a change in discourse.

Since 1985, things to on another perspective. Radio Marti has been a source of information and has sponsored debate and reflection concerning the reality of a Cuba emerged in a more global world.

Project Radio and TV Marti provides the possibility of speaking through its airwaves to those, who like I, broke with the system and who are not permitted even 1 minute of space in the media.

In Cuba some have adapted their old Soviet receivers to a home-fashioned TV antenna to be able to listen to Radio Marti. In turn, they inform their neighbors, co-workers and even members of the party what the regime does not allow to be expressed in its medium.

Radio Marti creates opinion inside Cuba. It provides a space to members of the opposition and activists that they divulge information about their projects and express opinions. In addition, it provides lessons on democracy to a people who for 43 years have only known totalitarianism.

Images are very powerful. A fact all of you are very well aware of. That is the reason why TV Marti is an inconvenience to the Cuban government. These past few days there have been reports that broadcasts were seen in the western region of the country. Maintaining a consistent signal would be a great benefit for a people who are not allowed internet access.

Cubans with short wave receivers monitor many stations from abroad, but there is only one that focuses solely on the issue of Cuba.

I assure you that Radio Marti is a necessity for the Cuban people. The obvious changes taking place in Cuba as a result of growing opposition to the regime must become the station's greatest challenge. To enhance it's quality and reflect the leadership of those who seek to change the system should be its principle commitment.

I once commented to a friend that in Cuba information is administered to us drop by drop like medicine. He clarified that, indeed,

it is administered drop by drop, but like poison. The antidote to that poison is Radio Marti.

Thank you very much to the people of the United States for assisting our brothers in the island with this effort.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Mexidor follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF BERTA MEXIDOR, FOUNDER OF CUBAN INDEPENDENT LIBRARIES

Good morning, my name is Berta Mexidor. I am grateful for the opportunity that you have given me to express my opinion as a listener, an independent journalist and, on occasion, as a newsmaker.

As a university professor and creator, along with my husband, of the Project of Independent Libraries in Cuba, I believe that current information, devoid of political slants, and objective analysis without fear of reprisals, should be the starting point of civic education. This right is denied Cubans on the island.

The official state media is characterized by a triumphalist propaganda that allows no space for criticism, unless it is directed at foreign countries or governments. A Cuban is more likely to learn—if it is of interest to the government of Cuba—what is going on in any given country of the world rather than what has happened in his own town or province.

In Cuba, news related to conditions of poverty or tragic events are exploited to serve as a paradigm for Cuban reality. Journalists who know their censor all too well make national events more palatable.

Analysis and news itself are informed to the public after several days or months have transpired, and only when Communist Party officials believe that the time has come for the people to know.

For those who live in a democracy, where information circulates freely, is current, and the news media is characterized by truth, competence and impartiality, a project such as Radio and TV Marti serves no purpose.

But in Cuba, there are only two television stations, parabolic antennas are prohibited and the programming provides no options for a change in discourse.

Since 1985, things took on another perspective. Radio Marti has been a source of information, and has sponsored debate and reflection concerning the reality of a Cuba immersed in a more global world.

Project Radio and TV Marti provides the possibility of speaking through its airwaves to those who, like I, broke with the system and who are not permitted even one minute of space in the media.

In Cuba, some have adapted their old Soviet receiver to a home fashioned TV antenna to be able to listen to Radio Marti. In turn, they inform their neighbors, co-workers, and even members of the Party, what the regime does not allow to be expressed in its media.

Radio Marti creates a state of opinion inside Cuba. It provides a space to members of the opposition and activists that they may divulge information about their projects and express opinions. In addition, it provides lessons on democracy to a people who for 43 years have only known totalitarianism.

Images are very powerful, a fact all of you are very aware of. That is the reason why TV Marti's signals are an inconvenience to the Cuban government. These past few days, there have been reports that broadcasts were seen in the western region of the country. Maintaining a consistent signal would be a great benefit for a people who are not allowed Internet access.

Cubans with short wave receivers monitor many stations abroad, but there is only one that focuses solely on the issue of Cuba.

I assure you that Radio Marti is a necessity for the Cuban people. The obvious changes taking place in Cuba as a result of growing opposition to the regime must become the station's greatest challenge.

To enhance its quality and reflect the leadership of those who seek to change the system should be its principle commitment.

I once commented to a friend that in Cuba, information is administered to us drop by drop, like medicine. He clarified that indeed it is administered drop by drop, but like poison.

The antidote to that poison is Radio Marti.

Thank you very much to the people of the United States of America for assisting our brothers on the Island with this effort. Thank you very much.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much.

Berta, if I can ask you a question. Could you please elaborate on your participation in Radio Marti programs and how Cuban broadcasting uses recently arrived dissidents, such as yourself, as resources to improve its broadcast?

Ms. MEXIDOR. Yes, it is important to underscore that just as Radio Marti served us well when we were activists on the island. It continues to perform this function by allowing us space here in the United States.

TV Marti is important because I understand that sometimes it can be seen in Latin America as well. It is important for everyone to know what is going on inside of Cuba.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. Do you believe as one of the founders of the Independent Library Movement in Cuba that providing for Radio and TV Marti access in the independent library sites would be useful or would that place the movement and its proponents at greater risk.

Ms. MEXIDOR. No, I believe that for all activists in Cuba, be they civic activists or human rights defenders, that Radio Marti is vital for their work.

If TV or Radio Marti did not exist, then people around the world, and even the people on the island would not know the contents of our project. The people on the island approach us because they learned of the goals and objectives of our movement, and in this regard it is very important.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much. Stay on the line because you might get other questions.

Ernesto, you had given us a copy of an interview that you conducted of another political prisoner, and that interview was aired on Radio Marti, and in your view, it reflects the values and the importance of Cuba Broadcast. Can you elaborate on this case?

Mr. DIAZ RODRIGUEZ. Radio Marti for us was a ray of hope and stimulus. Radio Marti is such a great success that just 2 years later they had to transfer us from the prison we were at to the another prison.

Until then, for 7 years we had been in punishment cells. We had not had access to doctors nor to family members. All this just so that we would don prison uniforms.

Returning from the prison I had the opportunity to interview Mario Chanes de Armas, who had served 30 years in prison, perhaps one of the longest prison sentences in the world.

The interview is available here for all present. It documents the beatings, the torture, the threats made by the regime. Thanks to Radio Marti the people of Cuba were able to hear that interview for 3 days.

Something that surprised me was an interview with Hida Halado, a very important TV personality in Cuba, who had brought up how these political prisoners were being ignored, but Radio Marti made it difficult, if not impossible for them to be ignored.

I consider that to limit or try to cut off Radio Marti, the only person that will benefit will be Fidel Castro. And we cannot forget that in 1962 it was he, Fidel Castro, who wanted to launch lethal weapons against the defenseless people of the United States.

The same Fidel Castro who has been condemned repeatedly by the U.N. Commission on Human Rights for his systematic violation

of human rights. The same man who, in 1959, confiscated the properties of all North American citizens. The same Fidel Castro that appears on the terrorism or the state sponsor of terrorism in the list of the FBI and the State Department, and I think that needs to be taken into account.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. Thank you so much. Thank you Berta and thank you Ernesto. Mr. Delahunt.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Madam Chair, can I make a suggestion?

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Yes.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Rather than a second round, if you just want to continue until you've answered your questions.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. No, go right ahead.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Mr. Duran, I read, again, one of those stories subsequent to my visit to the Marti operations. I think it was the Miami Times. I read that you had been roundly—I'm quoting now from the report—trashed by name in a particular show. Can you elaborate?

Mr. DURAN. Well, I understand that I was called a Castro agent and an agent of the Cuban government, essentially, because I have a different point of view on some of the issues that are debated in the Cuban exile community.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Delahunt, if I could just—

Mr. DELAHUNT. I'll yield.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. I would just like to point out that I am roundly trashed in Spanish radio quite often by—

Mr. DELAHUNT. I can't believe that.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Absolutely, by folks who have a different point of view because unbeknownst to people in Miami, we really do have open airwaves and people have their own radio shows and people speaking in Spanish roundly trash me who are not in favor of my position. So if we are going to make him into a hero, then you have to make me a heroine, too, because I get roundly trashed just to an end.

Mr. DURAN. The difference is, Madam Chair, is that you're not being trashed with my taxpayers' money.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Well, the difference is that we have a free democratic system. If you would to challenge me in November, I would be more than happy to. You're a good friend, Mr. Duran, but we wish that we would have such democracy for the Cuban people. But if I do not represent my district, I don't know what I'm doing here.

I think that Mr. Delahunt represents his district and Mr. Flake represents his district. I just want you to know that I'm roundly trashed as well on different radio shows. I don't think it's a badge of honor.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I'm not suggesting that it's a badge of honor, but I have to make this observation, Madam Chair, is that my constituents are paying for the time to trash Mr. Duran. Now any radio station anywhere in America, because of the democracy that we live in can trash anyone they want, but when it comes to taxpayers' dollars, I think we ought to comply with the Voice of America standards and maintain the kind of programming that would be balanced and objective and hopefully, increase the listening audi-

ence of Radio Marti for everybody's benefit. That's the point that I'm trying to make.

I mean, again, I don't know if this true or not, but someone by the name of Max Castro on this particular program was referred to as Fidel's columnist on the *Miami Herald*. I mean, that just simply does not belong, I would suggest, and respectfully so, in a taxpayer-funded radio program. It is not acceptable. That can happen clearly on any radio station. That's why I like to avoid talk shows myself because I've got a few scars. I'm sure we all do—those of us that have the courage to run for office.

Let me get back to a question to Mr. Duran, and let me pose this to Mr. Peters and anyone else—Mr. Diaz, if you would care to respond. I read earlier a statement by Secretary Fisk where about a year ago he wrote moving the facilities to Miami sacrificed its effectiveness, making it simply another Miami radio station:

“Radio Marti should be relocated and every effort should be made to end its image as a mouthpiece of the Miami Cuban-American community.”

How do you feel about relocating the Marti operation back to Washington? Do you agree with Secretary Fisk or do you think they ought to remain in Miami?

Mr. DURAN. I rarely agree with Secretary Fisk, but in this occasion I do. I really believe that the whole decline on the quality of programming and on the administration of Radio Marti started when it was moved from Washington to Miami. It became a completely different radio station.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Can I also suggest this. I was pleased to hear this morning, Mr. Duran, that Mr. Lew extended to you an invitation to sit down and exchange ideas to improve the programming.

Now of course, you remember Mr. Flake and I, and I know the Chairlady was present in the same hotel. We didn't have a chance to cross paths, but maybe we'll have another opportunity. At the Biltmore, there were a large number of Cuban-Americans that have a perspective in terms of American-Cuban relations that you reflect. I would ask you to take on as a responsibility sitting down with Mr. Lew, and others that share your perspective, to see whether there can be a programming that's balanced, that's objective and have some input into the programming quality of Radio Marti. Are you willing to take that—

Mr. DURAN. Absolutely. I'm not here to criticize Salvador Lew. He's a good friend of mine. We've known each other for many, many years. So I will be pleased to do that.

I am here to criticize something that has been going on, on Radio Marti for many, many years. That is, essentially, the program is effectual, and it has become, basically, another Miami radio station.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I don't disagree with that, obviously.

Mr. DURAN. I will—

Mr. DELAHUNT. Having said that, I think that we have the responsibility to meet the challenge. To improve the programming so that the people of Cuba will turn back—turn on, if you will, Radio Marti.

Mr. Peters, do you have any comment?

Mr. PETERS. Well, for the reasons I testified to in my written statement, I certainly support moving it back to Washington.

I think there is another dimension to the issue that you raised regarding those comments that were made on the talk show about Mr. Duran and about Mr. Max Castro, and that is, there are very clear Voice of America standards against defamation and that kind of language. There is a requirement that, of course, there is commentary. It's not just a recitation of facts on the Voice of America, but the commentary is quality commentary that's based on fact.

The Voice of America is not just an open microphone in the street where people say anything they want into and there is no judgment behind it and no quality to it.

In addition to those statements that you referred to being offensive on the human level, think of the message they send to a listener in Cuba that the United States government is legitimizing such defamatory language, where somebody who rather than disagree with someone else's point of view identifies that person as an agent of a foreign government. Now this is a radio station that is suppose to be promoting the idea of democracy in Cuba, and to carry that kind of commentary sends exactly the opposite message.

Finally, I'll mention to you that this is one of many areas where the Broadcasting Board of Governors sees a problem at Radio Marti, but they just look at it. They write a report on it. It happens again. There's a long record of this kind of defamation that goes on and nothing is done.

I don't understand why a person who makes a comment like that would ever be back on Radio Marti again. Why is there not a consequence attached to that?

Mr. DELAHUNT. I think that's a very good question. I don't have the answer. Mr. Diaz, welcome.

Oftentimes, I hear my colleague from Florida, Ms. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen recommend that or make the statement that it's time to go to the prisons. I think she is aware of the fact that I have been to the prisons. Were you in Combinado del Este in 1988?

Mr. DIAZ RODRIGUEZ. Yes, I was in Coma de la Terstia since May 15, 1987 through the moment of my liberation. It was in March 23, 1991.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Do you remember a tall, good-looking white-haired Irish-American from Boston interviewing a number of prisoners at the Combinado del Este?

Mr. DIAZ RODRIGUEZ. At that time, a group of the Red Cross was in Cuban prisons. The first time that Cuban government allowed foreign—

Mr. DELAHUNT. I wasn't with the Red Cross, Mr. Diaz.

Mr. DIAZ RODRIGUEZ. I know but I don't remember you.

Mr. DELAHUNT. You don't remember me.

Mr. DIAZ RODRIGUEZ. I remember Senator Claiborne Pell. He visited me in prison. I was asking for freedom for a few prisoners to Fidel Castro, and he said Castro said Mario Chanes de Armas and three prisoners that take part in the interview together with me would spend all their life in prison.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Are you aware of the individual who was part of the Los Plantados that stayed in Havana?

Mr. DIAZ RODRIGUEZ. I was part of the Plantados until my freedom—I still had been a Plantados.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Well, let me just make this statement. Sometimes it's suggested that we only meet with—what's the term "Castro dissidents." On this last occasion, I had a mini-reunion with an individual who was also part of the Los Plantados who stayed in Havana and is working with the dissident groups in Havana. You don't have any knowledge or awareness of that Plantados?

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. We will just ask you to give a response.

Mr. DIAZ RODRIGUEZ. What is his name?

Mr. DELAHUNT. I forget.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. We've given you the 10 minutes. Thank you. The time is up I only took 5 minutes. I gave you 10 minutes, Mr. Delahunt so we could do not a second round of questioning. I'd like to recognize Mr. Flake for 10 minutes.

Mr. FLAKE. Thank you, Madam Chairman. Mr. Peters, you had something to say?

Mr. PETERS. Well, I just mentioned to my friend here that if it's the person that—I also met with Mr. Delahunt. His name is, as best I can recollect, Mario Ruiz—

Mr. DIAZ RODRIGUEZ. No, Julio Ruiz Pitaluga.

Mr. PETERS. All right.

Mr. DIAZ RODRIGUEZ. He spent 25 years in prison. He represent los Plantados until freedom and the—

Mr. FLAKE. Thank you. I want to thank all the witnesses, and particularly, Mr. Rodriguez and Ms. Mexidor for showing us how valuable Radio Marti can be and why this hearing is so important that we can increase the number of people that hear it. It can be more valuable that it is right now.

Just out of interest, are there any representatives from the Cuban Broadcasting Bureau here left—officers of Cuba Broadcasting in the hearing? None? Any members of the Office of the International Broadcasting Bureau, the Broadcasting Board of Governors at all? None?

This, I would suggest, Madam Chair, is emblematic of the problems we have here, where they don't have the courtesy or the intellectual curiosity to stay around the one congressional hearing that's been held in the last several years—I guess or whatever—on this subject. To stay for their panel only, and to not hear the testimony of Mr. Rodriguez or Berta Mexidor or Mr. Duran or Mr. Peters.

That, to me, is a slight that we should not take lightly.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Flake, if I could just interrupt.

Mr. FLAKE. Yes.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. We did have a hearing last year in my Subcommittee on Cuba, and we've had many previous to that. That's okay.

Mr. FLAKE. The point is still valid. One hearing a year, you would think they could stay around for the second panel; yet, they don't do so. It seems to me that is par for the course here about following through and actually seeing that something happens to improve our broadcast there.

If I could pose a question to Ms. Mexidor, are you still on the line.

The TRANSLATOR. Yes, she's hear. She's listening.

Mr. FLAKE. Great. Are you familiar with the individual that Mr. Peters quoted? I believe Manuel David Orio, is that how you pronounce it—the independent journalist?

Ms. MEXIDOR. Yes, I know him as an independent journalist inside of Cuba.

Mr. FLAKE. Do you agree or disagree with his comments and his feelings about the lack of objectivity currently at Radio Marti?

Ms. MEXIDOR. All of us in Cuba, and those of us here, are trying to reach a democracy. I respect David Orio's opinion, but I believe that Radio Marti carries the personal opinions of an array of individuals. But that all of these opinions are expressed with as much objectivity as possible.

We cannot say that a political analyst, such as Carlos Alberto Montaner, to give an example, is a person that lacks objectivity. I would like to underscore, again, that Radio Marti is an alternative to official censorship.

As people who have recently arrived, we have expressed our opinion to the administrators of Radio Marti. They know it, and we have reiterated that Radio Marti already has a space in the public of Cuba. The lack of objectivity that its being accused of, or the argument that through Radio Marti individuals are being offended, it's not the opinion I hold as a listener or as a person who also gave news through Radio Marti.

Mr. FLAKE. Thank you.

Ms. MEXIDOR. If Cubans are not listening more to Radio Marti, it's because the amount of interference that the Cuban government has against the station.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Berta. He's got limited time. Thank you.

Mr. FLAKE. Mr. Rodriguez, could you comment on whether you believe that it is objective to refer to Mr. Duran as a Castro agent, does that have its place on a taxpayer-funded radio station?

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. I'm just wondering whether that was an employee of the station or was it a guest on the show? Do you know the citing of that?

Mr. PETERS. It was a talk show host by the name of Nancy Perez Crespo.

Mr. DIAZ RODRIGUEZ. No, I cannot affirm or deny that he is a Castro agent. I don't know him personally. Some of his opinions may coincide with Fidel Castro's, but this is a free country and he has a right to his opinion as I have a right to mine.

Mr. FLAKE. Mr. Duran, do you have any response to that?

Mr. DURAN. No, I can't affirm whether Mr. Rodriguez is a Castro agent or is not a Castro agent either.

Mr. FLAKE. Your feeling about that having its place on taxpayer-funded radio?

Mr. DURAN. Of course, it doesn't. It's taxpayer-funded station, and that's one of the things that makes for serious programming for Radio Marti and an objective for Radio Marti is that people's views are respected.

My views, even though they might be some controversial, it is my view that precisely that type of thing is what maintains the status quo that gives the Castro government the ability to come forth with

the nationalistic point of view that say no interference by the United States government.

Mr. FLAKE. One brief question for Ms. Mexidor. Do you believe that the Cuban people would benefit from increased travel from United States citizens to the island to spread the kind of information that our President believes that they are deserving of?

Ms. MEXIDOR. I think that real people-to-people contact is beneficial for both people. What I am not in agreement with is that the people of Cuba do not have the right to travel abroad and participate in the same manner freely.

There are many ways to achieve contact. It's not just tourism of people that are going to face the sad realities of Cuba today.

Mr. FLAKE. Muchos gracias.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much. I'm not going to use up my remaining 5 minutes. I just had a quick question for Mr. Duran. I know that halo above your head is shining brightly as you talk about libelist attacks against you, et cetera. Just refresh my memory, is it true or not true that you just settled a case with a Cuban-American National Foundation about your libelist attacks against that organization because you called them a terrorist organization? In fact, you had to pay and you had to print a retraction about statements that you and Mr. Wayne Smith had made against that organization, is that true or not?

Mr. DURAN. That's not true. I was not sued. They sued me, but they dropped the case. They dismissed the case because it was unfounded that I had ever made that statement.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. So those press reports weren't correct that—

Mr. DURAN. I beg your pardon?

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you.

Mr. DURAN. It's not true.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. Mr. Delahunt, I am aware that you went to Cuba prisons because I have that great newspaper article that we had in our press conference where you compared U.S. prisons conditions to Cuba conditions and said—I wish I had it here—that they were quite similar. I hope that you have time to talk to Mr. Diaz Rodriguez so that he can tell you a little bit—

Mr. DELAHUNT. I'd be happy to.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Excuse me. I'll be glad to—

Mr. DELAHUNT. Would you yield?

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. I'll be glad to—so that Mr. Diaz Rodriguez could explain to you the conditions under which he spent over 20 years in jail. If you could tell me, what prison cell in the United States of America operates under such conditions and any other Plantados in Cuba would operate such conditions here in the United States.

In fact, not only did you compare U.S. and Cuban prison conditions as if they were the same, you also called Castro humorous, entertaining. I'm just wondering how humorous and entertaining Mr. Diaz Rodriguez found Fidel Castro in your over 20 years of being a Plantados in Castro's jail? How humorous did you find Fidel Castro to be?

Mr. DIAZ RODRIGUEZ. I want to respond to the question that was originated. The comparison between U.S. and Cuban prisons.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. You can make it very brief.

Mr. DIAZ RODRIGUEZ. In 1962 it was dynamited to blow up political prisoners. Years in prison without medical assistance and had been beaten systematically. Many of them had their sentences extended and continued to spend more time in prison.

My question is, has there ever been a prison in the United States in which dynamite has been placed to threaten the prison population of being exploded. I've never heard of this, but if there is a case like that, then there is some similarity between U.S. and Cuba prisons.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. And I'll be glad to yield to Mr. Delahunt.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I thank the Chair. I'm going to extend an invitation to my colleague from Florida to come to some of the prisons that were within my jurisdiction when I was the chief law enforcement officer in the greater Boston area.

I think that she would be shocked at some of the conditions that she would see. There also was no conjugal rights like I saw in Cuban prisons. There was no opportunities for family meetings in many of the situations that occurred during my tenure. I would be happy even to extend an invitation to Mr. Diaz to come and visit some of the institutions in my former jurisdiction.

I would also ask Mr. Diaz, are you familiar with—

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Let me just ask him to finish my questions.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Sure.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Delahunt found Mr. Castro to be entertaining and humorous. I was just wondering in your 20 years in Cuban jail, if that thought entered your mind that Fidel Castro was a very entertaining and humorous gentleman? I was just wondering how much of a barrel of laughs he was for you.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I find you entertaining sometimes, Madam Chair.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. But I don't put anyone in jail though. Thank you.

Mr. DIAZ RODRIGUEZ. I didn't consider myself a free man within prison. They would not allow me to write eight books of poetry. Some of them dedicated to children, and I bore witness to the conditions under which I wrote in the prisons.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. I will have Mr. Delahunt to close.

Mr. DIAZ RODRIGUEZ. I would like to see the prisons in your former jurisdiction, and I would also like you to make the gesture to the Cuban government that in one of the visits to the island that one of my children can go and see the prisons and the conditions that Cuban prisoners are undergoing.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. I will give this article to you. I forget you also called him charming—Fidel Castro's is charming. And to close, Mr. Delahunt.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I thank my colleague.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Delahunt is going to close the session. We appreciate you being with us, Berta. Thank you so much. Mr. Delahunt.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I thank the gentle lady. I will make that effort Mr. Diaz. We should stay in touch so that I make that effort.

Are you familiar with another gentleman who spent 22 years in a Cuban prison by the name of—and I might be mispronouncing this—Eloy Gutierrez-Menoyo.

Mr. DIAZ RODRIGUEZ. I know him very well. I know him so well that when he disembarked in Cuba, I was the one who took him to the coast.

Mr. DELAHUNT. You still have an ongoing relationship with Mr. Gutierrez.

Mr. DIAZ RODRIGUEZ. We have nothing—there is nothing formally between us in terms of some sort disagreement, but we do have different politics. So we don't agree politically. I do feel a bit defrauded by his argument. However, we are at distance I do have respect for his position.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Thank you so much.

Mr. DIAZ RODRIGUEZ. I would also like to state that I have respect for his courage and his behavior and even though I am completely opposed to his political views, I do believe that he is doing it from a position of integrity and courage.

Mr. DELAHUNT. That's a wonder way to close this particular hearing. It's great to see the diversity. Thank you.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Delahunt. Thank you, Mr. Flake and you to all the panelists for being here today.

[Whereupon, at 3:01 p.m., the Subcommittee was adjourned.]

A P P E N D I X

MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE HEARING RECORD

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, DC, August 2, 2002.

Hon. ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN, *Chairwoman,*
Subcommittee on International Operations
and Human Rights,
Committee on International Relations,
House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MS. ROS-LEHTINEN: I want to thank you and the members of the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights for the invitation to testify on June 6 on the issue of broadcasting to Cuba. The importance of opening the floodgates of information and knowledge to the Cuban people is a fundamental component of the President's Initiative for a New Cuba.

During the hearing, Congressman Delahunt raised a question with me about Cuba broadcasting in which he referenced sections of an article I wrote on Cuba in the Fall of 2000 while I was on the staff of The Heritage Foundation, during the Administration of former President Clinton. Given the brief time for such exchanges, knowing the importance of this subject to you and the Subcommittee members, and having now had an opportunity to review the transcript, I thought it might be useful to provide a fuller context to the quotations specifically highlighted at the hearing and to the Bush Administration's proactive approach to this matter. I would request that this letter be made a part of the hearing record.

In late Summer 2000, I was asked by *The Washington Quarterly* to submit an article on the "political landscape" as it related to Cuba policy facing the U.S. Administration that would take office in January 2001, whether Democratic or Republican. On the broadcasting issue, in that article, I recommended that the new President "reinvigorate Radio Marti" and "reevaluate TV Marti—with the objective of either making it a serious enterprise or closing it." My strong preference is, and was at the time of the article's drafting, to make it a serious, more effective enterprise.

As a long-time supporter of public diplomacy generally, these recommendations were based on two assessments: First, it is necessary for the United States to have a robust, multi-faceted information outreach effort to the Cuban people; and second, the Clinton Administration had failed to manage the Office of Cuba Broadcasting effectively and had been willing to let this critical policy instrument atrophy (a verb I used in the article). In the area of broadcasting to Cuba, I concluded that this was the situation facing the President who would succeed Mr. Clinton.

President Bush has clearly affirmed his support for a strengthened effort to get timely, accurate information to Cuba in a quality format and has committed to enhancing outreach, including information outreach through Radio and TV Marti, to the Cuban people. The President, in May 2001, stated his intention "to actively support those working to bring about democratic change in Cuba." In his landmark May 20, 2002 announcement of the Initiative for a New Cuba, President Bush reaffirmed and expanded upon this point, including the significance of modernizing broadcasting to Cuba.

He did so, as I testified before the Subcommittee, because the President recognizes the necessity and value of public diplomacy generally and, in the case of Cuba, the necessity of breaking the Castro regime's efforts to manipulate and control the information reaching the Cuban people. Breaking the regime's efforts at a monopoly on information is a goal shared by those of us working to implement the President's policy.

While the primary implementing entities for broadcasting are the Broadcasting Board of Governors and the Office of Cuba Broadcasting, the role of the Western

Hemisphere Affairs Bureau at the Department of State, working with the Office of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy, is to support in every appropriate way the President's mandate on modernizing Radio and TV Marti.

For my part, I am pleased to have been asked to play a role in and be associated with the President's Initiative, including a strengthening of information outreach, to encourage and support the aspirations of the Cuban people for a democratic system respectful of their fundamental human rights. I believe that Radio and TV Marti will continue to make a vital difference in advancing that objective.

I hope this is helpful to you and the Subcommittee in providing a better understanding of my views—and the President's policy—on the questions of broadcasting to Cuba.

Respectfully,

DANIEL W. FISK,
*Deputy Assistant Secretary
for Western Hemisphere Affairs*

cc: Congressman William D. Delahunt

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, DC, June 17, 2002.

Hon. CYNTHIA A. MCKINNEY,
*Committee on International Relations,
House of Representatives, Washington, DC.*

DEAR MS. MCKINNEY: I am pleased to provide follow-up information to the question you posed to me during the June 6 hearing on Cuba broadcasting before the House International Relations Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights regarding Department of State programs supporting Afro-Latinos including Afro-Cubans, in the Western Hemisphere.

The primary avenue for Department of State activities in this important area is found in our public diplomacy efforts. U.S. Embassies throughout the Western Hemisphere work with Afro-Latino populations, co-sponsoring programs on race relations, civil rights, and grassroots democracy with local organizations. These public diplomacy programs focus on a range of issues, from workshops in Ecuador with former NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks on how communities can forge an agenda for peaceful social change to informing Afro-Colombians on how Plan Colombia and its related development assistance could benefit their communities.

The Department also arranges digital video conferences on various topics, including discussions on affirmative action and best practices for fighting discrimination. For instance, a video conference between U.S. experts and Afro-Brazilian and human rights leaders in Brazil generated a request for closer cooperation with the U.S. concerning the inclusion of minorities in political and civil society. The discussion touched on racial profiling and classification, and the important role education plays in bridging the gap between all races.

The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) funds and U.S. Embassies support the Fulbright academic exchange program, which has helped U.S. scholars conduct research on the African diaspora in this hemisphere. A number of these scholars have assisted Afro-Latinos in various countries as they have worked to establish a network of educational and cultural research organizations dedicated to collecting and conserving their cultural heritage and winning greater respect for their unique contributions to their countries. During this past year, in Honduras, the Department funded the first-ever U.S. cultural preservation program of an Afro-Latino heritage project, under the ECA-administered Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation. Last year, ECA's open grants competition included requests for specific proposals for programs directed toward the Afro-Latino community. The focus of these grants is to strengthen Afro-Latino organizations and increase their effectiveness, thereby increasing the level of participation of Afro-Latinos in their nations' civic life and enhancing democracy, our principal hemispheric goal.

Individuals concerned about the plight of Afro-Latinos, or involved in civil society organizations fighting a range of prejudices, have also participated in ECA International or Voluntary Visitor programs to the U.S. This past year, a voluntary visitor program of Brazilian government and non-governmental representatives included Afro-Brazilians. The group's visit to the U.S. focused on diversity issues, including race relations and successful public/private partnerships.

This past year, the Department's Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs' Office of Public Diplomacy (WHA/PDA) organized over a half-dozen meetings between Afro-Latino visitors and representatives from various offices in the Bureau, as well

as from the Department's Bureau of democracy, Human Rights and Labor, the Bureau of Populations, Refugees and Migration Affairs, and the U.S. Agency for International development. These meetings addressed a range of issues, including poverty reduction, advocating human and civil rights and greater participation in democracies. Most recently, WHA/PDA hosted a round of meetings for Afro-Colombian officials and community organizers deigned to assist them in ensuring that their communities are included in future plans for development projects in that country.

Since the hearing was focused on Cuba, it might interest you to know that Afro-Cubans suffer the same civil and human rights abuses by the Cuban government as do all Cubans. However, despite the Cuban government's claims, anecdotal as well as documentary evidence shows that Afro-Cubans have even more disadvantages than other Cubans, enjoying fewer educational opportunities, receiving poorer health care, and occupying fewer and less important positions of authority in the government and armed forces. For example, approximately 62% of Cuba's population has some African heritage, but only 13% (three of 23) members of the Communist Party Politburo are Afro-Cuban; just one of the 39 members of the Cuban government's Council of Ministers is Afro-Cuban; and none of Cuba's 15 provincial assembly presidents are Afro-Cubans.

Afro-Cubans make up a large percentage of the independent media and library contacts of the Public Affairs Section at the U.S. Interest Section in Havana. Public Affairs representatives meet regularly with these contacts and provide mailings and delivery of textbooks, tapes, and other materials to help prepare the successor generation for participation in a democratic society.

It might be interesting in this respect to review the case of Ramon Humberto Colas Castillo. Mr. Colas, an Afro-Cuban, founded the "Independent Libraries of Cuba Project," an informal NGO dedicated to encouraging the development of independent libraries, in 1998. Mr. Colas was repeatedly imprisoned by the Cuban regime from that time until his departure for the United States in late 2001.

It is my pleasure to provide you with information on the Department of State's efforts to support the aspirations and well-being of Afro-Latinos throughout the Western Hemisphere. I am informed that separately, Adolfo Franco, Assistant Administrator for Latin American and the Caribbean with USAID, will be providing you with specific information on USAID programs in the region. I hope this information is helpful and I would be pleased to discuss this issue or other issues of interest with you if you have additional questions.

Sincerely,

DANIEL W. FISK,
*Deputy Assistant Secretary
for Western Hemisphere Affairs*

cc: Hon. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen

Subject: Note
Date: Fri, 17 May 2002 15:39:42-0400
From: Salvador Lew <slew@ocb.ibb.gov>
To: btconnif@ibb.gov

Brian:

As per your request, this is the information that was given to me when I arrived to Miami late Wednesday afternoon from Washington, D.C. where I attended the BBG meeting.

According to regulations, we are not authorized to broadcast any radio or television station's signal without permission. Obviously, the Cuban government would never give us such authorization.

We gave extensive coverage to the speech by former President James Carter who visited Cuba—according to his own statements and those of the White House—as a private citizen, not representing the government of the United States.

Let it be clear, that we have further provided extensive coverage of President Carter's visit altogether as a newsworthy event. Immediately following his speech in Havana on Tuesday, we also provided special reports and panel discussions on the content of his statements that included key persons with diverse points of view. Subsequently, Mr. Carter's speech and visit have continued to receive wide and comprehensive coverage in both news and programs.

Pursuant to the information given to you regarding the editorial board recommending that we carry the speech live, it appears that you may have been misinformed. I believe that whomever has been attempting to mischaracterize this issue by misinforming members of the IBB is doing so in bad faith.

President Carter's speech was widely covered, and it was wholly responsible for us to adhere to standard procedure or erring on the side of caution given the legal issues involved in this matter. I trust you would agree that it would have been patently irresponsible to risk placing the Martis at the center of an international copyright dispute, especially at a time when the Cuban government has wasted no opportunity to assail and undermine Radio & TV Marti.

Please note that we have asked Ms. Carol Booker to provide legal guidance on this matter, and we look forward to working with her in order to ensure that we continue to carry out our obligations with full adherence to standards and procedures. I believe we all agree that Ms. Booker's knowledge and expertise are widely respected by all members of the BBG, IBB, and OCB. I am forwarding to you her response to our query, as it is indeed notes the same initial concern pursuant to the possibility of potential issues of copyright infringement that demand review.

It is unfortunate this has occurred, underscoring once again how we cannot allow our critical mission of working on behalf of the taxpayers of this nation, and advancing U.S. interests, to be undermined by anyone choosing to engage in gossip and rumor rather than working to ensure that Radio and TV Marti can fulfill their obligations responsibly under the law.

cc: The Honorable George W. Bush
Executive Office of the President
The White House

